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ABSTRACT

Intended to encourage young people to take part in the dialogue about nuclear weapons and become active on nuclear issues, this guide talks about nuclear weapons and what people can do to stop the threat of nuclear war. There are two major sections. The first section, "The Problem," contains background readings on nuclear issues. Discussed are how the nuclear arms race started, why people think we need nuclear weapons for national security, the cost of the arms race, and arms control. The second section, "What Can I Do?" discusses how to educate and organize others; take part in marches, rallies, and demonstrations; use voting power; make government listen by lobbying, writing, and calling; influence the media; and improve self-expression. The appendices provide a chronology of U.S.-USSR relations; key dates in disarmament; a sample press release; a list of advocacy and resource organizations, government agencies, and classroom curriculum materials; and a description of youth policy projects of the Citizens Policy Center. (RM)

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OUR FUTURE AT STAKE: A TEENAGER'S GUIDE TO STOPPING THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE

by Citizens Policy Center, Melinda Moore and Laurie Olsen

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Our Future At Stake

A Teen-ager's Guide to Stopping the Nuclear Arms Race

By Melinda Moore
and Laurie Olsen

With the Citizens Policy Center
Nuclear Action for Youth Project
Ursell Austin
Debra Britt
Wenonah Elms
Zafra Epstein
Caedmon Fujimoto
Jeannette Gross
Regina Hunter
Lena Flores
Max Friedman

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4

Acknowledgements

The Nuclear Action for Youth project was undertaken to encourage young people to take part in the dialogue about nuclear weapons and become active on nuclear issues. Nine young people, ages 12 through 17, during the summer of '83, researched the arms race and the anti-nuclear movement, exploring ways young people could become active in it. The group contributed substantially to this book.

They shaped the content by identifying the questions teen-agers ask about nuclear issues, researched, wrote and tirelessly edited drafts. They are quoted throughout the book, and their portraits punctuate several of the chapters. Their input, energy and inspiration is acknowledged with love and gratitude: Ursell Austin, Debra Britt, Wenonah Elms, Zafra Epstein, Caedmon Fujimoto, Jeannette Gross, Regina Hunter, Lena Flores and Max Friedman.

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Most of the photographs were taken by Kathy Ferguson, who followed the youth team during much of the summer. Additional photographs were provided by Richard Bermack, Jane Scheer and Laurie Olsen.

Three Bay Area organizations – Livermore Action Group, Alameda County Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign and the United Nations Information Association–worked with Nuclear Action for Youth to expose the group to different ways to try to prevent nuclear war.

The book was made possible by grants from the Field Foundation, the Max and Anna Levinson Foundation and Tides Foundation. In particular, the interest and support of Dick Boone in providing far more than financial support, is deeply appreciated. Individual contributions from W.H. and Carol Ferry, and Stanley Sheinbaum provided the necessary and all-important resources for production and dissemination of this book.

Final responsibility for this manuscript rests with the authors and Citizens Policy Center/Youth Policy Projects. We hope it informs and inspires you to get involved in the search for solutions to the nuclear threat.

Melinda Moore
Project Director
Nuclear Action for Youth Project

Laurie Olsen
Executive Director
Citizens Policy Center/
Youth Policy Projects

ESPRIT
YOUTH IN ACTION
STOP
NUCLEAR WEAPONS

A Letter From the Young People Who Worked on This Book

Dear Reader:

There has never been such an important issue as the nuclear arms race. Nuclear weapons have the potential to destroy all or most of the life on this planet. They make every international incident the spark for a possible holocaust. Those of us who worked on this project feel that everyone, especially young people, need to know about the threat and begin to do something about it.

The cliche says that children are the future of Earth. We are. But if we are ignorant of such important issues and if we refuse to stand up for our right to a future, the future of Earth looks dim.

As young people we see the results of the huge amount of money spent on nuclear weapons every day. Our schools are losing money. Textbooks as out of date as 1960 are common in our classrooms. We see our families and friends losing jobs, libraries closing, youth programs that no longer have the money to keep going. The arms race keeps growing, costing more and more money.

We are always aware also of the possibility of nuclear war. We hope that if other young people are exposed to the facts and begin to think about what can be done about the threat of nuclear war, that you too will be moved to take action.

Our position is anti-nuclear. We feel that the more nuclear weapons that exist, the more likely a nuclear war will happen. But this book wasn't written because we want to give you an opinion, or convince you of ours. We simply want to present to you a basis on which to form your own opinion. We hope this book gives you the information you need to start thinking about the problem of how we can prevent a nuclear war. And we hope you will join us in trying to find a way so all kids, present and future, can live in a safe and peaceful world.

In Peace,

Lena Flores
Lena Flores

Debra Britt
Debra Britt

Cadmon Fujimoto
Caedmon Fujimoto

Jeannette Gross
Jeannette Gross

Regina Hunter
Regina Hunter

Wenonah Elms
Wenonah Elms

Max Friedman
Max Friedman

Ursell Austin
Ursell Austin

Zafra Epstein
Zafra Epstein

Introduction

We could all be destroyed in a nuclear war. That threat, for those of us 40 years and younger, has always been a part of our consciousness. We are a generation growing up under a shadow – it all could end in a matter of hours in a nuclear war.

It's hard to live with the sadness, anger and fear that come with knowing about the nuclear threat. People don't seem to talk about it much. Most schools don't teach about the arms race. Teachers and parents seldom encourage kids to express their concerns about nuclear war. It's not a popular topic at parties – nobody wants to be thought of as a "downer" or of being too serious or worried about something that's out of your hands.

This book talks about nuclear weapons and what people can do to stop the threat of nuclear war. It is based on the experiences of a group of Northern California teen-agers who got together in the summer of 1983 and formed the Nuclear Action for Youth Project. The group was united by the members' fear of nuclear war and strong desire to prevent it. Some members of the team had been active in the anti-nuclear movement; others had hardly mentioned to anyone their thoughts and fears. Some knew a lot about nuclear weapons and the arms race; others knew only that "The Bomb" exists and it could blow us up. The group got together to learn more about the arms race and to experience how anti-nuclear organizations function.

This book reflects what the Nuclear Action for Youth Project learned. It includes the information these teen-agers consider necessary to understand how the world got into the nuclear dilemma and why nations continue the arms race. The book also describes some of the work being done to create a safe future, and explains how you can become active in reducing the threat of nuclear war.

The book is divided into three major sections. The first offers information and tools for learning about nuclear issues. The second section explains how you can become active, take a stand, do whatever you can to try to prevent nuclear war. The third section lists resources you may find helpful in your search for information and understanding, and in becoming active. Throughout, teen-agers express their concerns and describe their experiences as fighters for a future unclouded by the shadow of nuclear war.

The writers have come to believe that the potential destruction from a nuclear war or accident is so great that we must find ways to limit the buildup of the arms race, and that the cost to us as a people of continuing the arms race robs us of the ability to provide the kind of education, shelter, health care and food that could truly make America a healthy and safe country. Although this book assumes a strong anti-nuclear stance, the authors are committed to the belief that dialogue and continued pursuit of understanding through examination of the complexities of the situation are essential.

"I was on a camping trip in the fifth grade, and one kid started telling me that there were these bombs that could just wipe us all out. I felt sick. Ever since then I've been aware of things on TV, things people say, and it will pop up all of a sudden on a nice day or when I'm having fun – I'll remember that it could all end in a minute."

— Caedmon Fujimoto, 16

The Problem

MX
MINORS
FOR
WORLD PEACE

> *"When I think about nuclear war, the worst part for me is thinking I might be warned. It would be horrible to know it was coming and feel totally helpless. I don't want to know and I don't want to survive. My parents, friends, cats, everything familiar would be gone. I have always had a house and food and love, and I can't really face that everything might be gone and so grotesque and so much death all at once."*
>
> — Zafra Epstein, 13

What Is the Bomb, and Why Is Everyone Talking About It?

"The Bomb" is different from the bombs dropped from airplanes in movies of World War II. It is unlike bombs used in wars even now. "The Bomb" uses the enormous energy of the atom to intensify its explosive power. Because its explosive power comes from the center of the atom, its nucleus, "The Bomb" is called a nuclear weapon. A nuclear weapon is bigger, more deadly and has far more long-term effects than regular bombs. One nuclear bomb can instantly kill hundreds of thousands of people in areas up to 10 miles from the center of the explosion. The lethal radiation rays from nuclear explosions can contaminate the air, water and food supply. The effects can last for decades. All-out nuclear war could cause greater destruction than the world has ever seen. Many scientists have concluded that a major nuclear war would probably end life on this planet as we know it.

Burns from nuclear explosions are far worse than conventional burns, because the skin cannot conduct away rapidly the instantaneous heat and light. Miles from the explosion, exposed skin becomes extremely hot almost instantly and is completely destroyed. Heat energy can filter through clothing and selectively burn or melt it onto the skin. Healing from nuclear burns can be most difficult; skin cancer may develop much later, leading to death.

Soldier exposed 1 km. from bomb hypocenter died 28 days later of internal bleeding (Hiroshima)

The first – and only – two nuclear bombs used in war were dropped by the United States on civilian populations during World War II in the Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki almost 40 years ago, August 6 and 9, 1945. Tiny by today's standards, those bombs killed one-third of those cities' 250,000 people immediately. Five days after the bombing of Nagasaki the Japanese surrendered.

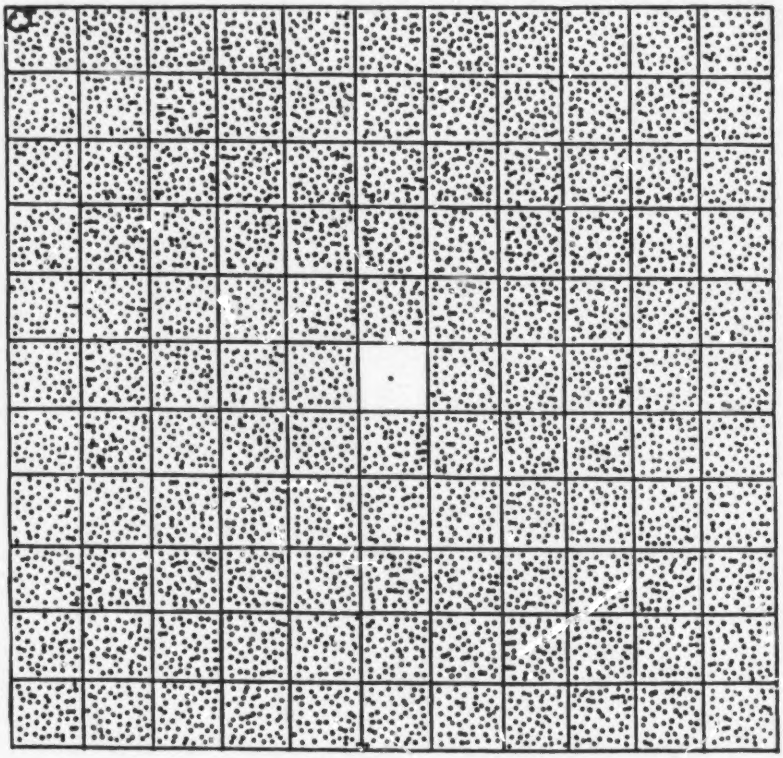
The two bombs were dropped from United States Air Force airplanes and exploded over the cities as they neared the ground.

Nuclear weapons today are much larger and more sophisticated than the Hiroshima and Nagasaki bombs. The new weapons can be delivered in several ways, not only by airplanes. Some can be delivered by bombers flying over their targets. Others can be sent on the tips of missiles (rockets) shot from submarines or from underground silos – protected launching pads. Newer missiles, "cruise missiles," can be launched from land, air and sea and can fly like planes close to the ground where they are undetected by warning radar.

The nuclear explosives in the tips of missiles are called warheads. The missile guides and propels the warhead to its target, much like a rocket. Missiles enable countries to very quickly bomb targets thousands of miles away, all the way on the other side of the world. Missiles are remarkably accurate. Some can travel 7,000 miles and land within a city block of their target.

Nuclear weapons are measured in kilotons and megatons. A kiloton equals 1,000 tons of dynamite. A megaton is equal to one million tons of dynamite. A one megaton bomb is 100 times more powerful than the bombs dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Four hundred megatons is enough to kill 100 million people.

The U.S. stockpile of nuclear weapons



The single dot in the center equals the combined firepower used in World War II, including the two atomic bombs dropped on Japan. Thus each dot represents 3 million tons of TNT (3 megatons).

The other 6,000 dots (50 in each square) represent present nuclear arsenals—about half belonging to the United States and half to the Soviet Union.

Three dots equal one Poseidon; eight dots one Trident Submarine; 200 dots (4 squares) equal the MX missile system.

is estimated to have the destructive power of several thousand megatons. The Soviet Union's stockpile of nuclear weapons is believed to contain fewer warheads but more megatons.

The Effects of Nuclear Weapons

The immediate effects of just a one-megaton nuclear warhead could be felt up to 35 miles from where it was exploded (called ground zero).

Within 1 to 2 miles in all directions from ground zero, the center of the blast, a huge pressure wave would create winds of more than 400 mph and 99% of the people in the area would be dead. People would be vaporized from the extreme heat, which at ground zero would exceed the heat of the sun, or receive immediately fatal third-degree burns. The huge winds would destroy or collapse all buildings, killing everyone else.

Within a five-mile radius of ground zero, winds would be 150 mph, destroying most wood and stone structures. People there would receive second-degree burns and half would be killed or seriously injured.

Within a ten-mile radius, winds would shatter all windows, turning them into thousands of glass spears traveling faster than 100 mph.

These winds would create firestorms (heat exceeding 1,400 degrees), and spread fires eight to 16 miles from ground zero.

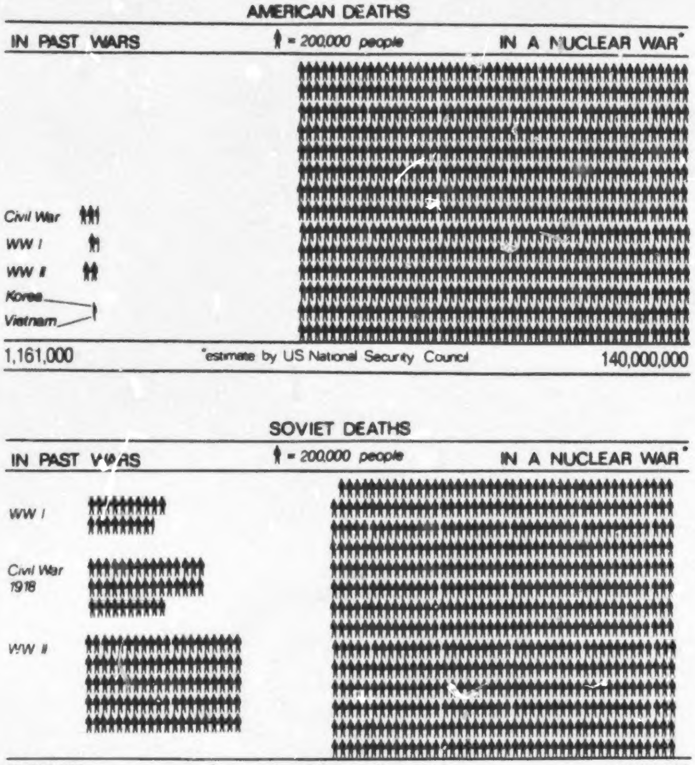
Thirty-five miles from the blast, anyone who had even glanced at the bomb's bright light would be blinded, their eyes burned. Meantime, minute particles of carbon as well as fission fragments and other debris would be sucked up into the colder air overhead, where they would condense and return in the form of an oily black rain, slick and full of radioactive fallout.

According to the Office of Technology Assessment in Washington, D.C., if one 25-megaton bomb was dropped on a city the size of Detroit, Mich., close to 80% of the people would be killed immediately, and many more would be

> "*The growing controversy surrounding nuclear fission is the most important issue the American society and the world has ever faced. A national and international debate on this subject is long overdue, and the participation of each individual will determine its outcome. We must begin today by first of all learning as much as we can about the critical issues involved, because what we don't know may kill us. We need new creative initiatives to avoid nuclear catastrophe, and they must begin with awareness, concern and action on the part of the individuals.*"
>
> **— Dr. Helen Caldicott**
> **Founder and Past President**
> **Physicians for Social Responsibility**

10

The immediate costs in lives and property are incalculable. Whereas few U.S. civilians have been killed in recent wars, most U.S. casualties in a nuclear war would be civilians. For the first time, an international war would devastate the U.S. homeland.



Source: *Effects and Dangers of Nuclear War*, United Nations Assn. of USA, American Friends Service Committee, Center For Defense Info., Institute for World Order, Physicians for Social Responsibility, Union of Concerned Scientists, United Presbyterian Church in the U.S.A.

> ***"When it comes to strategic thermonuclear war, I don't think there is such a thing as No. 1 and No. 2 in exchanging nuclear weapons. The damage to both participants would be so great there is no winner, and therefore no such thing as No. 1 and No. 2."***
>
> **— Harold Brown**
> **Former Secretary of Defense**

seriously injured. One nuclear weapon today has greater explosive power than all the bombs dropped in World War II.

If I Survived the Blast, Wouldn't I Be Okay?

Of the people living where they could survive the bomb blast, many would be wounded. Most common injuries would be second- and third-degree burns. The fierce winds would cause deaths and injuries. People would be hurled like rockets, suffering broken bones and ruptured organs. Many people would become deaf because their ear drums would rupture. Many would be blinded.

If one nuclear bomb was exploded on a city of 3.5 million, 10,000 survivors would be seriously burned. According to Physicians for Social Responsibility, in the entire United States, only 1,000 to 2,000 serious burn patients can be treated at any one time.

If the Injured Got Medical Help, Would They Survive?

A bomb dropped on a major metropolitan area would destroy many hospitals in the blast. It's been estimated that no more than 2,000 doctors would survive to treat the more than 380,000 injured. That means every doctor would have to treat 190-200 people. If each doctor worked 24 hours per day with no breaks for food or sleep, and saw each injured person for no more than 10 minutes, it would take eight days for the doctors to see all the injured. Even if medical supplies survived the blast of nuclear weapons, they would be quickly exhausted.

What Would Life Be Like for the Survivors?

For those who do survive, their way of life would be radically changed. Radiation would contaminate nearly all food and water sources. Transportation would be almost non-existent, and communication seriously interrupted. Insects, less sensitive to radiation poisoning than people, would become major disease carriers. Hundreds of thousands of bodies would just decay because there would be no one to bury them . . . thus further spreading massive disease. Most estimates are that it would be a very long time, if ever, before some things would be as they were before the nuclear attack. Some people believe human life could disappear from earth if nuclear weapons were ever used on a large scale. Frankly, we can't know what the long-term effects of a nuclear war would be . . . . our world has never experienced such devastation.

No one can precisely predict the outcome of even a limited nuclear attack, because no one knows how long those who live through the initial blast would survive. Many experts believe radioactivity in the air eventually would kill most of the people in any metropolitan area hit in a "nuclear incident." It has been said that the living would envy the dead.

Perhaps the greatest peril for the survivors would be radiation sickness. It would take almost 100 years for most of the radiation to disappear from the air, water and earth. Meantime, it would be taken into people through the plants and animals they eat which would eventually poison people. It would collect in bone tissue and cause cancer. It would settle in the thyroid gland and cause growth retardation, cancer and other abnormalities. In addition, radiation would make our bodies lose their ability to fight disease. Depending on how much radiation a person had been exposed to, within weeks or years, radiation kills.

How Would I Be Affected If a Nuclear Weapon Were Exploded More Than 35 Miles From Where I Live?

If the nuclear weapons were exploded far from you, still you might not be safe. Scientists predict that a full-scale nuclear war could burn the nitrogen in the upper atmosphere, destroying the ozone layer which is essential because it protects us from the otherwise deadly effects of the sun's radiation. If 10,000 megatons of nuclear explosives were exploded, an estimated 70% of the northern half of the earth's ozone layer would be destroyed. A 20% decrease in the ozone layer would let enough light through to blind nearly all forms of life, cause massive damage to our cells and dramatically increase cancer. If it were *not* a full scale nuclear war, your survival would depend on the winds – the direction in which they blow and for how long. The winds would determine how much radiation exposure you receive.

The United States has more than 9,000 nuclear weapons. Of these warheads, about a third are designed to be launched from land, the remainder are for sea or air launch.

While the United States has more warheads than the Soviet Union, the destructive power of Soviet missiles is greater than of U.S. missiles. It is safe to say that regardless of the numbers and powers of U.S. and Soviet weapons, each country can destroy the other many times over. The country that attacks the other eventually would be committing suicide.

> ***"A 20-year-old man was recently hospitalized in the burn unit of one of Boston's teaching hospitals after an automobile accident in which the gasoline tank exploded, resulting in extensive third-degree burns. During his hospitalization, he received 281 units of fresh frozen plasma, 147 units of fresh-frozen RBCs, 37 units of platelets, and 36 units of albumin. He underwent six operative procedures, during which wounds involving 85% of his body surface were closed with homograft, cadaver allogrant and artificial skin. Throughout his hospitalization, he required mechanical ventilation and monitoring with central venous lines, arterial lines, and an intermittent pulmonary artery line.***
>
> ***"Despite these heroic measures, which stretched the resources of one of the country's most comprehensive medical institutions, he died on his 33rd hospital day. His injuries were likened by the person who supervised his care to those described for many of the victims of the atomic bomb that exploded in Hiroshima."***
>
> **— Helen Thomas,**
> **UPI correspondent**
> **May 21, 1982**

Some Resources

Crossroads, Quality of Life In A Nuclear Age, Jobs with Peace, Education Task Force (see Appendix for Jobs With Peace address)

Freeze, Sen. Edward Kennedy, Sen. Mark Hatfield, Bantam Books, 1982

Nuclear Weapons, Report of the Secretary General of the United Nations, New York, NY

Effects of Nuclear War, Office of Technology Assessment, Congres of the United States, Washington, D.C.

Unforgettable Fire, Japanese Broadcasting Corporation

Physicians for Social Responsibility, Cambridge, MA

Day After Midnight, Michael Reardon

Effects & Dangers of Nuclear War, United Nations Information Association of USA, American Friends Service Committee; Center for Defense Information; Institute for World Order; Physicians for Social Responsibility; Union of Concerned Scientists; United Presbyterian Church of the U.S.A.

Ursell Austin, 16

The first time I heard about nuclear bombs was on television about two or three years ago. I turned to this program on Hiroshima. It showed what happened when the bomb was dropped. I was completely shocked when I saw it. It looked so weird, like the whole city was black and scorched. People were walking around burnt to a crisp and looked like they were in pain, but they didn't say anything. I guess they were in shock. I just couldn't believe that such a horrible bomb was dropped on innocent children – mostly women and children.

At the schools I went to they never talked about nuclear weapons or Hiroshima or the arms race. Maybe teachers were afraid to talk about it. It made me think it just wasn't a big deal to them, wasn't important, or they were afraid. But that seemed strange to me. I think other kids should know both sides of the nuclear issue, and know them clearly. If they had a way to understand and discuss both sides, they could make up their own minds.

It's not like we don't hear about nuclear weapons. It's on the news, it's in the papers, it's on television. But people act like we aren't supposed to talk about it.

I think about the bomb just about every day. It makes me sad and depressed when I think about a bomb ever being dropped. I hope I'm with my family. I don't want to die alone. I think about it most on sunny days when I'm having a good time. I think – it could happen right now.

I thought about it when I was going to camp, because I kept thinking, what if a nuclear war happens when I'm away from home and away from my family? I was afraid of coming back from camp and there would be nothing left.

I also used to think about it when I was at a school that was built on two levels – an upper level and an underground level. When I was in the classroom underground I'd think about the building crashing down on me and suffocating me if a bomb dropped. I would think that all the air would be sucked out of me, and I'd burn up under the rubble.

I think about what it would be like when a warning comes. I would try to get my family together,go to my grandma's house where we could hold each other tight and pray. I don't want to be warned. I don't want to know it is about to happen. I want to be killed right away. Being alive during or after the bomb would be the most frightening of all.

I think surviving would be worse than dying.

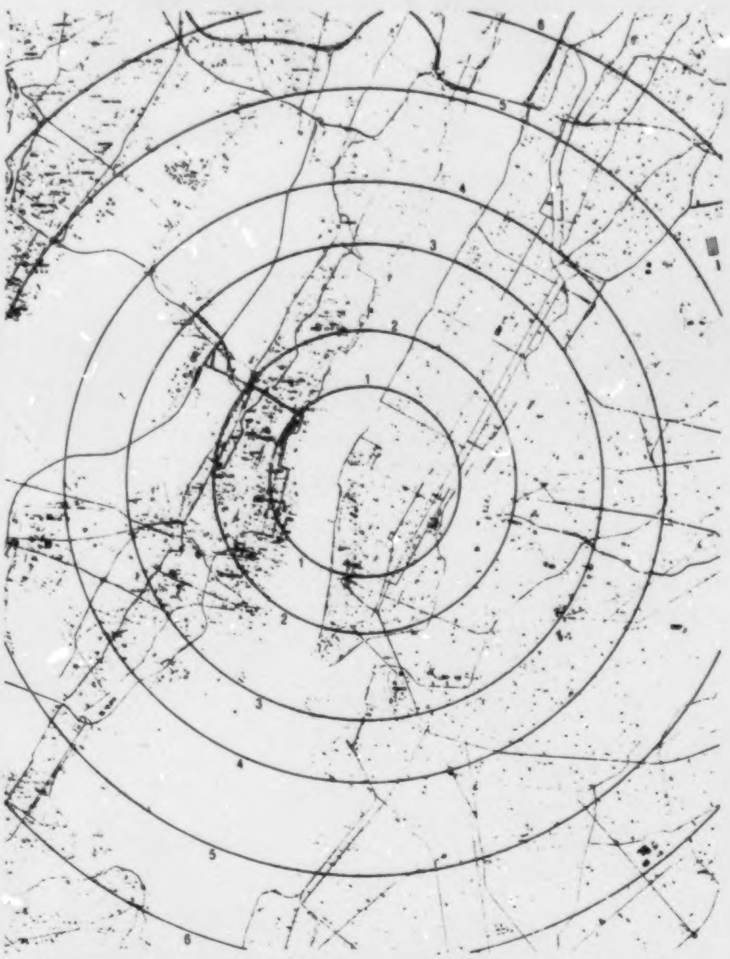
It scares me about my future. I get angry when I think about maybe not being able to have a career; that my plans just wouldn't get a chance to ever happen. I want to be a midwife and help bring life into this world. But I might not get the chance. I really want to have children and a family someday, but then I'd feel fear for them, too. It makes me wonder whether I should have kids at all.

I want to live longer, but at least I've had this long. I feel worse for the little children. They are so young and innocent and haven't had much of a life yet. It's not their fault that governments can't find a way to solve their problems. I have a 7-year-old sister that I love a lot. One day I was trying to imagine a safe future with no nuclear weapons in it. I could see myself telling my little sister that she would grow up safe. It seemed so peaceful. I cried. It still makes me almost cry to think about it.

It seems to me that we shouldn't be spending so much money on more nuclear weapons when we already have enough to destroy every person on Earth. The money should go for other things. At county hospitals, we have to wait for hours and hours to see a doctor because there isn't enough money for good health care. Old people have trouble living on Social Security. The mental hospitals have to turn people away and onto the streets; I know, because I meet them on the streets. Our schools don't have enough money for books. It's hard to do your homework when there aren't enough books so you have to share and can't take the books home with you to study. So when I hear how much it costs to build nuclear bombs, it just doesn't seem right.

People often think of teen-agers as bubbleheads, that we are just interested in playing videogames, getting dates or going ice skating. That's not fair. We are concerned about what is happening in our world. We care about more than just when we get a job. We care about the fate of the world. Soon we will be adults who can vote. Our schools should be places where we can learn about important issues and discuss them, where we learn the things that prepare us to be involved citizens.

This year I got to go to Washington, D.C., to testify at a congressional hearing about what it's like for kids to grow up with the threat of nuclear war. When I first thought about going to testify before this committee, I was really nervous. Then I thought to myself that in a nuclear war all of the politicians and their children will probably die, too. I decided that maybe I had something important to tell them about what it is like for kids growing up with the threat of nuclear war. It's hard to live with the possibility that we might not ever get a chance to grow up. I think the arms race has gone too far. I hope we all open our eyes and our minds and stop the arms race before it is too late.



One-Megaton Air Burst Over New York

Circle	Thermal effects
1	Steel surfaces, concrete surfaces explode, glass windows melt
2	Aluminum siding evaporates, auto sheet metal and lucite windows melt
3	Wood, plastics, heavy fabrics burst into flames; asphalt surfaces melt
4	Upholstery, canvas, clothing burst into flames; painted surfaces explode
5	Severe 3rd degree burns to people; grass, shrubs ignite; fires spread
6	Severe 2nd degree burns; reflected light blinds people with open eyes

Blast effects (excluding additional thermal effects)

1	Office-type multi-story reinforced-concrete buildings destroyed
2	Multi-story monumental-type wall-bearing buildings destroyed
3	Unreinforced brick and wood frame buildings destroyed
4	Unreinforced brick and wood frame buildings damaged beyond repair
5	Unreinforced brick and wood frame buildings damaged but repairable
6	Typical residential buildings usable, but extensive repairs required

Note: Thermal effects are always more severe than blast effects, except for specially-hardened military structures. Thermal plus blast effects will destroy most civilian-type structures.

Radii of circles: #1—1.75 miles; #2—2.75 miles; #3—4.35 miles; #4—5.5 miles; #5—7.2 miles; #6—8.8 miles.

Civil Defense

The dictionary defines civil defense as: "protective measures and emergency relief activities conducted by civilians in case of hostile attack or sabotage or natural disaster."

Most people agree that a nuclear war (full or limited) could happen, although no one wants it to. There is, however, a lot of disagreement about whether we could survive a nuclear attack. Our current President and government officials believe survival would be possible and have given the responsibility for ensuring our safety in the event of nuclear attack to the Federal Emergency Management Agency. FEMA has developed a three part survival strategy: evacuation, fallout shelters, and survival training. FEMA's primary emphasis is on evacuation and fallout shelters.

Evacuation

It is believed that if nuclear war breaks out, cities are likely targets. FEMA has designed an evacuation plan for city dwellers. Each urban area is paired up with a "buddy" town that is three to eight hours away. If a nuclear war seems likely to begin, city residents would be warned and told to escape to their host or buddy town. There are many problems with these plans. Buddy towns could themselves be nuclear targets. An orderly evacuation of an entire city in time of extreme crisis and fear is problematic. The government plan assumes we would have up to eight

> *"Everybody's going to make it if there are enough shovels to go around. Dig a hole, cover it with a couple of doors and then throw three feet of dirt on top. It's the dirt that does it."*
>
> **— Thomas K. Jones**
> **Deputy Undersecretary for Defense**
> **1982**

days warning, which many experts think is highly unlikely. And finally, to date buddy towns have not prepared or equipped themselves to receive the population of an evacuated city – they have no places for people to stay, or food for them to eat.

Because of these problems, FEMA's evacuation plan has caused great controversy. Some cities and towns have refused to participate in the planning.

Other people believe the government cannot design adequate survival plans so they plan for themselves. These "survivalists" build fallout shelters in their homes and keep stocks of food and water underground. Some also stock guns and ammunition in case they have to defend themselves from less prepared people after an attack. Fallout shelters must be stocked with food, water, equipment for measuring radiation, fans, first aid supplies and other essentials to equip a family for at least several weeks.

Fallout Shelters:

FEMA has begun a campaign for a new series of fallout shelters in an attempt to provide some protection for people from the immediate effects of the bombs as well as radiation. They are trying to encourage states and individual cities to build these shelters. According to FEMA, with advance notice a fallout shelter could be constructed in anyone's home in a day. Eighteen inches of cement or dirt between a person and nuclear fallout is said by FEMA to diminish the radiation ten-fold. This too, is a subject of current controversy.

Recall the pictures of the devastation of Hiroshima and Nagasaki. Remember that a one megaton bomb is 100 times more powerful than the Hiroshima bomb, and that many missiles now have multiple nuclear warheads. Given these facts, consider the possibilities of survival in your community. Check the civil defense plans for evacuation and shelter. What do you think?

What Would Happen to Me in a Nuclear Explosion?

To get an idea of what would happen to you, your family and friends in a nuclear explosion, you can "map" the effects by identifying the potential targets in your area. Then, with the help of a compass, calculate the damage that would occur in your town or city.

To figure out the possible targets where you live, here are some guidelines:

- Is your city's population more than 50,000?
- Any military installations in your area? What are they used for?
- Are there large radar screens on nearby mountains?
- Is there much industry in your area?
- Oil production?

If the answer to any of these questions is yes, your area could be a target. Every state contains high-risk areas. You can follow these leads by calling the military installations, for example, and ask whether weapons and ammunition are stored there? Nuclear weapons? From their answers you can make some good guesses. Contact any anti-nuclear group in your area and ask for their research on potential targets.

Mapping a Nuclear Target

The second step in the process is to map the information you have found. First, mark each potential target. Then take the compass and find the "key" on your map (where it tells that an inch on the map is equal to so many miles or tens of miles). Using these figures, draw a circle with a one-mile radius, two-mile radius, three-mile radius, 10-mile radius, and finally a 35-mile radius from each target. Check the effects of a nuclear bomb, on page 13, and you will see on your map what the probable damage to your city or town would be if a nuclear weapon was exploded nearby.

Now think about evacuation while you look at a map. If you were told you had to evacuate, where would you go? Remember, you might not have much time to travel. Once you have decided on a place, go through the same process for that town as you did for your own. Find the possible targets and map the effects.

Look in the Yellow Pages (telephone book) to determine where all the hospitals in your city are located. How many of these will survive a nuclear explosion? How many are outside the 3-mile radius you have drawn? For most of us, this process shows us that it is not likely we would survive a nuclear attack, whether we evacuate, or have a fallout shelter. The authors believe that survival depends upon NEVER HAVING A NUCLEAR WAR.

INTERVENTION
EL SALVADOR!
JADOR is
for VIETNAM
INTERVENTION
CARAGUA
LET OUR PARENTS
BE GRANDPARENTS
THERE IS
NO SHELTER
FROM
NUCLEAR WAR

Teen-agers take a stand at an anti-nuclear demonstration on Mothers' Day, 1983

> ***"People are getting toughened about death. They do not realize the prolonged suffering of nuclear attacks, with hundreds of people taking weeks to die, screaming to be shot, with no medical help available. Our whole concept of a civilized response to a tragedy is totally inapplicable."***

— **Dr. Thomas Chalmers,**
Mt. Sinai Medical School
March 1981

> ***"Shelters are fine except for three things: getting to them, staying in them, and getting out of them. It's a dangerous illusion to tell the American public that shelters will protect them"***

— **Robert J. Lifton**
Professor, Yale University

What Is the Nuclear Arms Race? How Did It Start?

> *The arms race is just silly to me, and its gone on for so long. One government thinks 'If I stop now, the other countries will hurt me,' but the building up just increases all of our chances of mistakes or someone using them. Communication and understanding would work much better than threats, and it couldn't be more expensive or take more effort than the arms race does, could it? We should all at least just stop now for a breather and think for a while. Even just a one-year breather in the arms race would give us a chance to be more rational about it.*
>
> — **Wenonah Elms, 13**

In most races, people compete to prove who is best at a particular event. Think about a 400-meter track event, or a car race. Contestants vie to be first. In each race, there is a finish line. There are rules. There is a winner – and loser.

The nuclear arms race, in which the primary contenders are the United States and the Soviet Union, is unlike other races. The logic goes like this: The United States builds a new weapon; the Soviets counter by building a weapon of their own; the United States then builds a more advanced weapon and the Soviets build another to catch up. And so on. Where is the finish line in this race? What are the rules? Eventually, there can be losers, but can there truly be a winner?

Many people, especially United States and Soviet government leaders, feel that since the race began, nuclear war has been avoided precisely because the Soviet Union and the United States have kept fairly even. The United States government argues that world peace and protection of the freedoms and economic comforts Americans enjoy require that we stay ahead of the Soviets or at least even with them – or risk being taken over by the Soviets. For their part, the Soviet leaders fear that if they fall behind the United States, their country's security would be jeopardized.

> *. . . There is no more dangerous illusion than the idea that nuclear war can still serve as an instrument of policy, that one can attain political aims by using nuclear weapons and at the same time get off scot-free oneself, or that acceptable forms of nuclear war can be found . . .*
>
> — **Soviet Major General N.A. Talenski**
> **1965**

Other people take a different position on the arms race. They believe the arms race, rather than ensuring the security of either nation, is pushing the world closer to a nuclear war or a nuclear weapons accident. To these people, the arms race isn't an actual race because no one can win.

Each point of view of the arms race, including the many other opinions between these two extremes, has facts and experts to argue their case. All can seem persuasive. It requires hard, critical thinking to make up your mind. The following brief history of the arms race is intended to help you do that.

The Start of the Race

The race to make nuclear weapons began in 1939, just before Germany under Adolf Hitler invaded Poland to start World War II. In August of that year, world famous atomic scientists Leo Szilard and Albert Einstein wrote to President Franklin Roosevelt.

In the letter, Einstein and Szilard said: "It may become possible to set up a nuclear chain reaction . . . by which vast amounts of power . . . would be generated . . . . This new phenomenon would lead to the construction of bombs, and it is conceivable – though much less certain – that extremely powerful bombs of a new type may thus be constructed." They went on to suggest that the president's administration should keep in contact with the physicists and possibly help speed their research. They closed by noting that Germany, too, was working on uranium chain reactions, implying that such power in Hitler's hands would be a great danger.

Roosevelt was influenced by Einstein and Szilard's letter. He quickly established the Manhattan Project, a top-secret laboratory in Los Alamos, New Mexico, in an effort to create the first nuclear weapon. The project involved many of the leading scientists in the world, who worked round-the-clock and enthusiastically to create the nuclear technology many of them felt would save the world from Hitler.

As it turned out, when Germany surrendered in May 1945, we learned that the Germans were far from being able to make an atomic bomb. The United States, in fact, was running a one-country race. We had, by then, built the first atomic bomb.

It is not commonly understood how the decision to use atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was made. People often refer to these bombings in discussions of the nuclear arms race, and the bombings influence our thinking about what government scientists and others should do now, so it's important to take a closer look at that decision before we consider how the arms race has gone on since August 1945.

Wenonah Elms, 13

When I was in the fifth grade, my father became involved in the Freeze movement, and I started seeing posters and flyers around our house and hearing adults talking about it. I was kind of upset then, but it didn't really hit me until I saw the movie "The Last Epidemic" in the sixth grade and freaked out. It really scared me because they used San Francisco as an example of what would happen if a nuclear bomb dropped there, and it's only 20 miles from my home. Every time a plane went overhead for the next month I was freaked out. It really hit home. I felt so little and powerless; I was afraid they could just blow up the whole Earth and I wouldn't be able to grow up.

While I was watching the movie, my friend sitting next to me was crying and it all jolted me. I started to think a lot about it. Even now, when planes fly over, even if I'm asleep, I wake up and have trouble getting back to sleep.

In the seventh grade, I joined a small group of kids who met at lunch time. We would talk about nuclear stuff, and made plans to go to rallies and demonstrations together. We set up an information table in the library and got to be really close friends. Then we decided to be part of the June 20th blockade of the Livermore nuclear weapons laboratory, and things really began to get active.

I took part as a supporter, and didn't get arrested. My mom was worried about me being arrested. She remembered the demonstrations during the 1960s when people got tear gassed and beat up and she was afraid for me. I didn't want to go against her, so I didn't do civil disobedience.

Being a supporter was important but hard. I felt outside of it all. Everyone was talking about what a great experience getting arrested was, and how important it was, and I wasn't really part of it. Mainly I held coats and water bottles for people who were getting arrested. I brought oranges and apples down to juvenile hall to greet them when they were released, and just cheered for them.

I was really disappointed in the media. They did report what happened at Livermore, but they didn't really say why we were doing it. They didn't explain the issues. Here 74 juveniles were arrested and that was big news, but they didn't seem to really focus on why. After one big splash, it was all over. Maybe it did make a few people start to think. I don't know.

I think it's important and I really enjoy being active and doing everything I can think of to stop the arms race, but often afterwards it doesn't seem like any one action meant much. After memorial rallies for Hiroshima Day, the newspapers had a two-page spread about some babboon, and no coverage on Hiroshima Day. It's discouraging.

I want other kids to see the figures, the amount of spending that goes for nuclear weapons, to see the destruction that happens from a bomb, and to read about the economic pinch. Kids should know. This is our world, too, and we need to know.

I tend to babble on about nuclear stuff, it's so much on my mind and I like talking to people. Some put up with me, some tell me to shut up, and some agree. The hardest part is when people think that because I'm anti-nuclear that I'm siding with the Soviet Union. I don't think the Russians are going to take over the world or anything, but I don't really like their government much. It doesn't mean I'm siding with them, though, just because I don't want to see all of us (them and us) blown up.

I think if top officials in all the nations just learned about each other and were willing to settle their differences together, not through a committee or anything, but face to face, it would help.

Another thing that might help would be if everyday working people from one nation got together with everyday people from other nations and learned about each other. That would really be great. Some people just don't realize that the Russians, East Germans, or even the Chinese are really just like us. Even if they are ruled by a different government, they're still humans and have feelings.

Communication and understanding would work much better than threats, and it couldn't be more expensive or take more effort than the arms race, could it? We should all just stop now and take a breather and think for a while. Even just one year breather would give us a chance to be more rational about it all.

It doesn't really matter whether you choose to go to a demonstration or write a letter to a senator to try to do something about the arms race. The message is the same, but it reaches different people in different ways. It all helps. And doing something, no matter what it is, is better than lying in bed and doing nothing.

This summer I worked at Livermore Action Group, and I really liked it. I got to talk to a lot of people, do office stuff and really feel like I was contributing to the organization's smooth running. I helped a person get information, answered phones, etc. I want to keep working with them. Working with an organization, going to a demonstration, they're both great because you don't feel alone, and there is such a wonderful feeling of unity with other people. You don't know their names maybe, but you feel you can trust them and that they care. It's a wonderful feeling.

The First Casualties of the Race: Hiroshima and Nagasaki

The decision to drop the bombs was made by President Harry Truman, who consulted with his political, military and scientific Advisers, as well as with United States' allies in the second world war. Here are some of the main arguments used to explain the decision to drop The Bomb.

1) To Save Millions of American Lives

In the words of President Truman, who ordered the bombings, the bombs saved "a quarter of a million American lives and probably . . . millions of Japanese." This conclusion is based on a belief, held by some military strategists at the time, that an invasion of Japan might be required to defeat the Japanese and end the war in the Pacific. The invasion they envisioned could have involved more than two million American troops. After four years of war, there was strong public pressure on our government and within the government to win the war quickly. Based on this military logic, dropping the bombs "saved American lives."

2, To Influence the Soviets

Another important reason for using atomic bombs on Japan was to warn or influence the Soviet Union.

The United States and the U.S.S.R. were allies in World War II. Although it was an alliance of necessity and mutual self-interest, U.S.-Soviet relations had been very tense since the Russian Revolution in 1917. As the war with Germany ended, and Britain, the United States and U.S.S.R. met to negotiate which country would control the various parts of Europe taken by the Germans in the war, the Soviets and the United States grew more mistrustful of each other. The United States feared the Soviets were using the war to expand their direct and indirect control over Eastern Europe. And to the Soviets' point of view, the United States with its advanced economy and its country intact looked frighteningly powerful.

Despite this mistrust, the United States persuaded its Soviet allies to join in the war against Japan. United States leaders were concerned that the Soviets might use their entry into the war with Japan as an opportunity to take back territories they'd lost in an earlier war with Japan. The issue is further complicated by the fact that at the Yalta conference during World War II, the United States, U.S.S.R. and Britain agreed that if the Russians entered the war with Japan, they could regain precisely these territories. By the end of the war, however, the United States government was reluctant to allow the Soviets control of these territories.

Based on these facts, some people including former government officials, believe the United States used the atomic bombs on Japan at least partially to:

a) Keep the Soviet Union from spreading its influence in Europe

b) Ensure that the Japanese would surrender only to the Americans, not to the Russians, and that the Russians not gain too much territory from Japan

c) Make the Soviets accept the United States plan for a "stable peace" in Europe, which was then being discussed in negotiations between the United States, the U.S.S.R. and Britain.

3) Because the Momentum Behind the Bomb's Development Made It Impossible Not To Use

Some people hired to work on the Manhattan Project concentrated on building a bomb, while others were assigned the task of determining when and where to use it. Their mission was to make ready and use the new weapon. For these scientists, the project was their life, their driving passion. Hence, it would have taken a great deal of restraint on the part of any decision-maker to resist the momentum generated by the Manhattan project.

There was tremendous curiosity and excitement about whether the bomb would work. The scientists and others involved on the project worked frantically and excitedly to get the bomb ready. As with any inventors, these people wanted badly to see how their creation worked. And as with any group of close friends who share great talent, they loved their work and the sense of community they

> *"I try to believe I could survive in a nuclear war. Even though I know it would be awful, I still would try no matter what. I feel like it would be a cop out to die! I would want to try to live no matter what the consequences. Maybe I could help other people*
>
> *"The worst part of thinking about the bomb dropping is thinking about being separated from my family when it happened. But we have to try to survive. I wonder, though, if it is possible."*
>
> **— Caedmon Fujimoto, 16**

felt among themselves. The following quotes from two scientists who worked on the bomb at Los Alamos reveal how scientific curiosity and excitement played a role in the push to use the bomb.

> "The technology traps one. The fervor was anti-German. Yet at VE Day (when Germany surrendered) no one slowed down. The machinery of the project had caught us. We were almost like automatons (robots)."

> "The pace picked up and everybody worked night and day. It was very hard to stop and think."

With this scientific zeal, plus strong public support of the war and desire to "smash the enemy," it is no wonder that the effort to build and then use the bomb met with little resistance within the military and the government. It is important to remember, though, that the development of the bomb and plans for its use were *top secret* and unknown to the public.

So, several important factors led to the decision to drop the A-bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki, making the nuclear arms era public. President Truman, who made the decision, received advice from a committee of experts in science, warfare, politics, international affairs. Some advisers recommended against dropping the bombs, but they were not heeded or were not taken seriously. What were their arguments? What alternatives to using the A-bomb did they suggest?

Decisions That Could Have Been Made: Alternatives to Bombing Hiroshima and Nagasaki

Probably the best-known option to the nuclear devastation was suggested by the minority of Manhattan Project scientists who felt strongly the bomb should not be used on people – if at all possible. They proposed that the United States announce to the Japanese that it had a new weapon, the most powerful on Earth, and if Japan did not surrender, the atomic bomb would be used against them. To prove this was not an empty threat, the scientists wanted to explode the bomb over the ocean or on a desert island or high above a city where the power could be seen without destroying lives. Seven of these scientists sent a petition to Secretary of War Stimson. It said in part: "The military advantages and the saving of American lives achieved by the sudden use of atomic bombs against Japan may be outweighed by the ensuing loss of confidence and by a wave of horror and repulsion sweeping over the rest of the world and perhaps even dividing public opinion at home."

Stimson, however, was out of town and did not receive their petition. Other similar proposals not to use the bomb on people without first warning the Japanese and demonstrating the bomb's power were discussed by decision-makers.

The idea of demonstrating the bomb's power without actually killing people was rejected for various reasons. Some people argued that if the Japanese knew beforehand of the demonstration they might interfere with it and cause a failure. Or, if the bomb didn't go off as announced, the threat of using the weapon later would carry no weight. And even if the demonstration worked, the Japanese military leaders might still press on with the war, only now they would know what to expect. It also seems that there simply was no one with great authority who was willing to risk anything but the "sure thing" of using the bomb on cities which everyone figured would end the war.

An important argument against dropping the bomb on Hiroshima and Nagasaki was that the Japanese reportedly were on the verge of surrendering by the summer of 1945, and the war was expected to end soon even without using the bomb. Indeed, the Japanese leaders had already suggested to third-party countries, Switzerland and Russia, that they wanted to negotiate an end to the war without total humiliation.

The obstacle to a negotiated end to the war was the U.S. demand for "unconditional surrender," which meant that the Japanese would give all control over their country to the victorious United States. The Japanese are a very proud people with centuries of traditions centuring on the emperor's place in Japanese culture. To surrender unconditionally would be to give up the role of

> *"The schools I went to never talked about nuclear weapons or Hiroshima or the arms race. I think maybe teachers were afraid to talk about it. It made me think it just wasn't a big deal to them, or it wasn't important, or they were afraid. But that seemed strange to me. I think other kids should know both sides of the nuclear issue, and know them clearly. I believe that if they had a way to understand and discuss both sides, they could make up their own minds. It's not like we don't* hear *about nuclear weapons. It's on the news, it's in the papers, it's on television. But people act like we aren't supposed to talk about it."*
>
> **— Ursell Austin, 16**

> ***"I think both the Soviets and the U.S. are very dangerous governments building up very dangerous weapons. I don't care who is ahead, because if there is a nuclear war we'll all be wiped out. We're past the point of it making any sense who is ahead. I'd rather live in the United States and this is my home, and here we have the right to speak out and protest. But sometimes I think even though we're allowed to protest, no one listens."***
>
> **— Zafra Epstein, 13**

the emperor – an unthinkable blow to their culture.

While some U.S. government officials understood and were sympathetic to this cultural difference between the two countries, many didn't. Most were aware that in the midst of the war fervor, unconditional surrender was politically preferable.

The Important Lessons to Be Learned

In making the decision to bomb Japan, the United States had little understanding of Japanese culture, the result being continuation or worsening of military conflict. This kind of misunderstanding has long marked U.S.-Soviet relations, as well. The lack of understanding and ability to tolerate cultural differences between countries will not improve without a more aware public. As citizens and students, we have an obligation and an opportunity to demand more information about other cultures and to try to influence our government in its dealings with other people.

Such discussion of the rationale for using atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki concentrates on *conscious* decision-making. Yet, decisions are not always carefully thought out. As Arthur Compton, a scientist on the panel of advisers, has said: "It seems to be a *foregone* conclusion that the bombs would be used."

The Arms Race

Below is a short review of the arms race. It documents which weapons were developed by which countries, and when they were developed. This will also tell you when the other country "caught up."

	United States	Soviet Union
First atomic bomb developed	1945	1949
First atomic bomb dropped on people	1945	——
First intercontinental bomber developed	1948	1955
First H-bomb exploded	1945	1955
First intercontinental ballistic missile developed	1958	1957
First man-made satellite in orbit	1958	1957
First submarine-launched ballistic missile	1960	1968
First multiple warhead developed	1966	1968
First anti-ballistic missile deployed	1972	1968
First multiple independently targetable reentry vehicle developed	1970	1975
First long-range Cruise missile developed	1982	——
First neutron bomb developed	1982	——

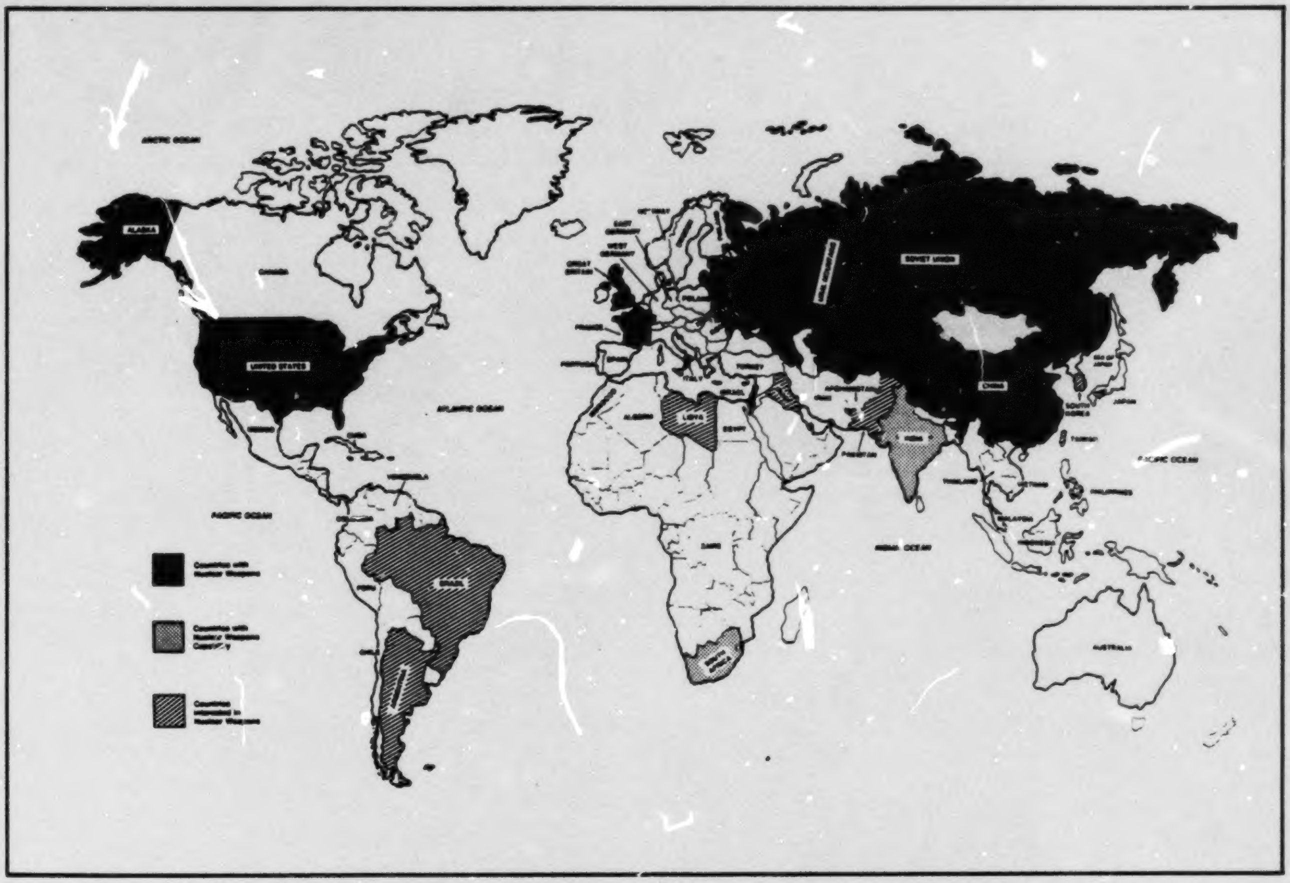
The decision to bomb Hiroshima and Nagasaki may have been made in haste, or with poor information, or because there seemed to be too much momentum to consider other approaches. Our most important challenge today as concerned citizens is to constantly demand that life-and-death decisions be made through a process of careful, non-secretive dialogue and reasoning that includes the opinions of the public.

After Hiroshima and Nagasaki: The Arms Race Gets Closer and Faster

The United States was able to use nuclear weapons on Japan because neither Japan nor any other country had such weapons to use against us. The United States nuclear monopoly ended in the fall of 1949 when Russia developed and tested its first atomic bomb. Soon England, too, would possess nuclear weapons, followed by France, China and India. More than 50,000 nuclear weapons are in existence. Most belong either to the United States or the Soviet Union. As far as is known, nine or 10 additional countries have the technology to develop nuclear bombs by 1991: Israel, South Africa, South Korea, Argentina, Taiwan, Pakistan, Libya, Brazil and Iraq.

In 1952, the nuclear arms race took an important turn with the U.S. development of the hydrogen bomb, a weapon 1,000 times stronger than the atomic bomb. Just one year later, the Soviet Union developed the hydrogen bomb. The race was becoming closer, and the Soviets were committed to preventing the U.S. from having a monopoly on nuclear force.

Indeed, in 1957, the Soviets achieved two major breakthroughs in the arms race: They developed an intercontinental missile capable of carrying nuclear warheads thousands of miles, and then they launched the first successful satellite into space. This was named Sputnik, and although it was not specifically a military



device, it caused a deep panic in the United States. Among other things, the United States stepped up science and math education in its schools and moved towards a militarized space program. The success of Sputnik scared the United States as few things had in the past.

From 1959 to 1963, the United States spent $146 billion for strategic nuclear forces to keep ahead of the Soviet position. However, the forecasters who had predicted future Soviet superiority were wrong. By the middle of 1963, the Soviets had built fewer than 100 missile launchers and their overall strategic force was less than the U.S. force of armed bombers, land missiles and submarine-based Polaris missiles.

Despite America's big initial advantage and despite its continuing advancement of weapons technology, the Soviet Union caught up in the early 1970s. It became apparent that neither nation could maintain a huge advantage over the other for long. The arms race was enormously expensive to both countries, to the welfare of their people and their economies. Thus, efforts to *control* the arms race became more important.

Progress toward arms control from 1970 to the present has been spotty. The 1980s have ushered in the greatest escalation of the nuclear arms race in two decades. The United States and Soviet Union are spending trillions of dollars to create new generations of ever more accurate and deadly weapons – among them America's Pershing and Cruise missiles and the Soviets' SS-20, SS-22 and SS-23. As these weapons are built and deployed in Europe, the arms race is sure to accelerate. The margin of safety in a time of international conflict will become narrower. This is largely why so many people in Europe and throughout the world have joined the movement against the arms race.

> ***"I'm not really sure who is ahead in the arms race and I don't think it really matters. I mean, it doesn't make me happy to think that we're ahead, or sad to think that maybe the Russians are ahead. We both have enough bombs to kill each other, and if someone drops the bomb, no matter who, we all suffer. I would only feel secure if the U.S. got rid of its nuclear bombs."***
>
> **— Debra Britt, 15**

> *"With greatly increased offensive and defensive preparations, the United States could hold casualties in a nuclear war to 20 million, a level compatible with survival and recovery."*
>
> — Colin Gray,
> State Department Consultant, Foreign Policy
> Summer 1980

> *"When we did our research on targets in the (San Francisco) Bay Area, it was pretty clear there are a lot of them here. When we called military bases, they didn't want to tell us what they did there, or what kind of weapons they had . . . but we tried anyway. We found out there were labs where nuclear weapons are developed, there were nuclear weapons bases, and communications centers here, too. I don't really mind that there are a lot of targets near my home, because I wouldn't want to survive a nuclear attack anyway. I would want to die immediately."*
>
> — Wenonah Elms, 13

Are Nuclear Weapons Necessary?

In making up your mind about the arms race and the threat posed by the Soviet Union, it helps to know what other people think. Even if you already have a strong opinion, surveying other people can be enlightening. The Nuclear Action for Youth Group wanted to know how people on the street feel about nuclear weapons and "national security." To find out, we conducted an informal survey. We split into pairs, then went around the city, asking people to answer five questions. Ask at least 50 people.

These are the questions we asked, but you could make up your own questions according to what you are interested in knowing.

1. In your opinion, are nuclear weapons necessary for our national security?
   Yes _____ No _____
2. In the event of a nuclear war, do you believe you would survive?
   Yes _____ No _____
3. How often do you think about the threat of a nuclear war?
   All the time _____
   Few times a week _____
   Every now and then _____
   Never _____
4. How likely do you feel nuclear war is within the next 10 years?
   Will definitely happen _____
   Very likely to happen _____
   Unlikely to happen _____
   Definitely won't happen _____
   Don't know _____
5. Would you feel safer if our country had or did not have nuclear weapons?
   Have nuclear weapons _____
   Did not have nuclear weapons _____

When conducting the survey, you can use one sheet and tally everyone's answers on a master sheet. You need to indicate on your survey how many males, females, adults, youth you talked to if you are interested in how the responses differ according to age, sex, etc.

An easy way to keep track of the scores, for individuals or a group, is to list the categories you are interested in at the bottom of the survey. If your interview subjects each use one tally sheet, you can either fill out the categories for them (by asking), or ask them to list the categories. Each sheet or survey will represent one person you interviewed. If you decide to use just one "master" survey, you will ask people the questions, keeping track of their answers and the categories as they are surveyed.

Categories mentioned above might look something like this:

Male ☐ Female ☐ Youth ☐ Adult ☐

A survey can help you decide what actions need to be taken. For example, if 50 to 100 other kids would like to know more about the nuclear issue, you may want to set up a nuclear information table in your school library. You are more likely to succeed if you go to the principal with your survey data.

Why Do People Think We Need Nuclear Weapons for Our National Security?

Recognizing the horrors that a nuclear war could bring, why do countries have these weapons? What threats seem so great that nations are willing to risk nuclear war to protect themselves? For answers we need to examine the relationship between the two major countries in the arms race.

The United States and the Soviet Union possess most of the nuclear weapons in the world. The two countries are called "superpowers" because they exert the most influence throughout the world. Each country believes that nuclear weapons of nearly equal power and sophistication are needed to protect it against its adversary. Some of our leaders believe we need to be in a stronger position.

There are many questions to be asked about this relationship. Are the countries clear about why they fear each other? On what do they base their fears of a nuclear attack? Why does each feel vulnerable to the other? What would it take for each side to feel secure? Why does the United States blame many of its international problems on the Soviet Union and use it to justify increased secrecy in our government? Does the Soviet Union use the United States to justify repression at home and abroad?

These questions are not easily answered because, unfortunately, few Americans, even in the government, have much knowledge or experience with the Soviet Union. As a society we have almost no education about the Soviets, yet we consider them our greatest enemy.

How the Soviet Union Sees Itself and the United States

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) was formed by a revolution in Russia in October of 1917. The new government of the Soviet Union was founded primarily on the political and economic philosophies of Karl Marx and V.I. Lenin, who were social philosophers in the middle and late 1800s and the early 1900s.

Marxism, basis of the communist philosophy, considers capitalism, the system under which the United States operates, to be a major cause of the world's problems and especially of the oppressed conditions of workers. The Soviet communists believe that oppression, particularly of working people, will end only when workers take control of politics and the economic system away from the wealthy. Communist theory says, for examples, that factories should belong to the people who work at them and who produce the goods at those factories, and not to people who are wealthy enough to own the factories and machines.

To ensure this and the well-being of all the Soviet people, the communist party and government control most of the country's major decisions. The good of society as a whole is considered more important than the good of an individual.

In the U.S.S.R., the state determines what factories will produce and at what price. It decides where, when and for whom housing is built. It determines who gets which jobs, and what liberties workers will have. The state determines what information is appropriate for the media to print or broadcast. It prohibits or allows religion as it sees fit. Basically, most aspects of Soviet life are controlled by the communist party-directed state, which acts in the best interests of all the people according to the communist belief. Government officials are selected from within the state and communist party by the party leaders.

The Soviets deeply fear being invaded largely because of the destruction Russia has endured from invasions throughout its history, and especially during World War II. It has been said that every Soviet family lost at least one family member during that war.

The Soviet Union is bordered by many

> *"Whoever does not understand that when it comes to nuclear weapons the whole concept of relative advantage is illusory. Whoever does not understand that when you are talking about absurd and preposterous quantities of overkill the relative sizes of arsenals have no serious meaning.*
>
> *"Whoever does not understand that the danger lies not in the possibility that someone else might have more missiles and warheads than we do, but in the very existence of these unconscionable quantities of highly poisonous explosives, and their existence, above all, in hands as weak and shaky and undependable as those of ourselves or our adversaries, or any other mere human beings; whoever does not understand these things is never going to guide us out of this increasingly dark and menacing forest of bewilderment into which we have all wandered."*
>
> **— George Kennan**
> **Former U.S. Ambassador to Russia**
> **Acceptance speech for Albert Einstein Peace Prize 1981**

Caedmon Fujimoto, 16

Around the campfire on a backpacking trip in the fifth grade, one of my friend's father told us about nuclear bombs. He was really trying to scare us, telling us about radiation sickness and stuff. I recall feeling really scared. I couldn't handle it, it gave me so much more to worry about.

The fact that you couldn't escape and its long-term effects, that's what got to me the most.

When I think about the nuclear issue or the bomb, I think of running for cover. I know the death toll will be high, but I have this instinct to try to survive. I think about it when I'm quiet and just sitting, like on the subway train coming to work – boy, I wouldn't want it to happen while I'm on the subway!

I've tried to do my part to prevent nuclear war. When I was in the sixth grade I passed out leaflets door to door for the People for Nuclear-Free Future. So far, I've tabled, leafleted, gone to demonstrations, collected proxies for the Freeze, and gone to rallies. I also worked on a City Council campaign, where the candidate was for the Freeze.

I think other kids should realize how nuclear weapons are a threat to their life – if they want a clean, safe future, they need to get involved. I think they should also have some knowledge of the arms race and how military spending affects their lives through budget cuts in various things. If I could talk to the politicians, I would ask them why they don't seem to work for the needs of the people. They don't seem to understand that they're supposed to represent us, not themselves.

The hardest thing for me to explain about the nuclear issue is the cost of the arms race and how it affects our economy. When I talk to conservative people I feel like I need to learn to talk about the economic consequences of the arms race more effectively. When I talk to my friends they listen, but they joke around a little about it.

When I was in the fourth grade my dad told me about Hiroshima. Because I'm half Japanese, my dad, I guess, felt like I should know about it – that they dropped the bomb on Japan and that there are lots of people still suffering from its effects. It was such a terrible thing.

When I think about the power of the bombs it's so awesome that it's like trying to comprehend eternity. To think one bomb could wipe out an entire city is pretty hard to comprehend.

I tend to think I could survive a nuclear war. Even though I know it would be awful, I still would try. I feel like it would be a cop-out to die! I would want to try to live no matter what the consequences – maybe I could help other people. The worst part of thinking about the bomb dropping is thinking about being separated from my family when it happened.

As far as the arms race, I think we're ahead. I wouldn't really care if the Soviets were ahead, though, I'd still want a freeze and to work for disarmament. I think we're in danger as long as we have weapons that could be detonated by mistake.

The military budget is so overwhelming – the amount of money involved is awesome. I think money spent on the military should go only for peacekeeping forces and natural disasters. The rest of the money should go for things like hunger – it's a major problem. We should help countries with food production and distribution, not military aid.

I think putting pressure on Congress and the president are the most effective things we can do to stop the arms race. That and participate in massive protests across the country – then they will have to listen. I think voting is important, but I only wish everyone who was eligible would register, and everyone who was registered would vote. Then we might stop it.

Working with adults in an organization to stop the arms race is fun. I met lots of different kinds of people, and we did a lot of different activities. It was never boring. It seems like the adults liked us for being involved. I've always wanted to do more, to feel like I was really working to stop the arms race and now I feel like I do. It's such a broad issue and one that can spark conversation and new friendships. It's great to work with a group of people of all ages who really care about the same issue. I thought maybe we would be doing more boring work . . . but this is like an adventure.

countries. Throughout history it has been invaded from all directions by those countries – by Mongols, Turks, Swedes, Poles, Germans, Chinese and others. The Soviets have the longest border in the world to protect – more than 6,000 miles long. In the last 100 years, three major wars were fought on Soviet soil, killing more than 31 million Russians. The Soviets have experienced first-hand the destruction of war and fear being invaded again. Some countries bordering the Soviet Union, including China, are not friendly to the Soviets, which intensifies fears within Russia and fuels the Soviet military buildup.

All the nuclear powers in the world today have nuclear weapons pointed at the Soviet Union. Even within its sphere of influence in the communist nations of Eastern Europe that border the USSR, the Soviets must resist anti-Soviet uprisings as in Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, and Poland in 1980. The Soviets know these attempts to undermine communist governments are supported in spirit, and often materially, by the United States or its allies.

The Soviet Union considers the United States and its capitalist enterprises to be bent on exploiting the world. They call us "imperialists." This perspective sees the United States as a hostile, militarily aggressive nation that has not hesitated to use direct and indirect force throughout the globe to stop the rise of communism among other countries during the last hundred years. The United States invasion of Grenada is seen as recent evidence of this.

The Soviets feel threatened by the nuclear weapons the United States has placed in countries within 1,000 miles of Russian borders. They emphasize that the Pershing II missiles currently being deployed in Western Europe can reach Soviet soil in less than 10 minutes. The Americans have led the nuclear arms race and have forced the Soviets to spend their resources at the expense of their economy in keeping up with the race. The Soviets see this as an effort to erode the people's support of their government. When the Soviets intervened militarily in countries such as Afghanistan, Czechoslovakia and politically in Poland, they said they were defending their own nation's security. They expressed surprise at the strong United States reactions to those invasions.

An additional source of frustration for the Soviet leaders is their feeling that the United States treats the U.S.S.R. as inferior and does not give it the respect it deserves as a great world power.

How the United States Sees Itself and the Soviet Union

The United States was founded on the principle of representative democracy, which holds that the government exists to carry out the wishes of the people, who express their desires by voting for candidates they feel best represent them.

Though not mentioned in the Constitution, the United States' economic system is capitalistic. Under capitalism, businesses set their own policies and prices, generally with as little direction from the government as possible. In America, individuals are responsible for their own decisions about jobs, politics, housing, to name but a few areas. Each person or family unit is responsible for its own survival. It is a system that emphasizes individual freedoms and responsibilities.

The United States has not fought a major war on its soil since the Civil War in the 1860's – more than a hundred years ago. The only modern military assault on the country came in 1941 when the Japanese bombed Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, which was not yet an American state.

United States borders are not threatened by hostile countries. However, the United States has economic, political and military interests throughout the world. Thousands of military personnel are stationed in more than 200 military bases in other countries, bases from which to defend not only U.S. interests but also U.S. allies.

Perhaps the United States' most important alliance is NATO – North Atlantic Treaty Organization. NATO was created by Canada and most Western European countries after World War II. The NATO countries are committed to protecting member nations from attack by other countries. NATO is principally worried about the Soviet Union and its Warsaw Pact allies in Eastern Europe. The United States is the strongest member of NATO, and has deep commitments to defend Western Europe.

> ***"Above all, the people. I like to believe that people, in the long run, are going to do more to promote peace than our governments. Indeed, I think that people want peace so much that one of these days, governments better get out of the way and let them have it."***
>
> **– President Dwight D.**
> **Eisenhower**
> **August 31, 1959**

U.S. based corporations are located throughout the world. Many Americans – stockholders and employees – benefit financially from these businesses overseas. These corporations often profit from very low labor costs in the Third World, and from the lack of restrictive government regulations over working conditions.

The United States "national security" does not mean just security at this country's borders, but is often interpreted by our government as the security of U.S. businesses, military personnel and political allies throughout the world.

Any move to extend Soviet influence in other countries, or any move within an independent country towards communist philosophy, is viewed as a danger to U.S. interests. The United States popularly views the Soviet Union as a "police state" bent on taking over the world. President Reagan recently described it as an "evil empire." The Soviet people and those in countries influenced by the Soviets are seen as oppressed under the "iron rule" of the communist state. Life there is portrayed as dreary, fearful and without joy. This viewpoint emphasizes that the Soviet government and secret police, the KGB, do not permit dissent against the government. It is illegal to protest against the government.

The United States considers Communist expansion the greatest threat to the world. In particular, the United States fears that the people of poor, undeveloped nations in Africa and Central America will turn Communist. It is therefore essential, from this perspective, for the United States to be strong in opposition to the Soviets and to Communism wherever and however it appears.

The United States and the U.S.S.R. have extremely one-sided perspectives of themselves and each other. Each often seems to see itself as all good and the other as all bad. No wonder the relationship is so bad. Yet, a nuclear conflict between them probably would lead to the destruction of both societies. We must find ways to live as non-violent neighbors despite the severe differences.

In conclusion, the United States shares with the Soviet Union a common fate and a heavy responsibility for an arms race which now holds both countries and much of the world as nuclear hostages. The countries together can act to end this threat. The solution begins when we learn to look past the stereotypes we create about each other. We must find ways to understand each other better, communicate more thoroughly and consistently, and figure out how to live together peacefully. This is the task of citizens as well as governments. The governments are not doing well; they need the help of citizens. We must demand that our leaders figure out ways to co-exist peacefully, or we must elect new leaders who will make the world safer.

OH, GOOD_
WE WON.

Young people with a home-made poster at an anti-nuclear demonstration, 1983

What Does the Arms Race Cost?

The U.S. government collects billions of tax dollars every year. The Congress decides how to spend that money. In developing the U.S. budget, Congress makes many choices. With a limited amount of money, spending for one program means there is less for others. Every year, Congress decides how much can be spent for social programs such as job training, education, food stamps and other social services; Social Security; retirement and unemployment insurance; environmental projects; transportation; housing; community development; medical research; health programs for the elderly and the poor; energy programs; science research; agriculture; and national defense and the military.

The United States spends more on national defense – more than $180 billion a year – than for any other government program. How is our economy affected by spending so much on the military? Why do we spend so much on the military?

Look at the recent history of U.S. military spending. To mobilize to enter World War II, the government, in a sense, went to U.S. factory owners and said, "Look, we need to gear up for war. If you'll help us out by making tanks instead of cars and shifting to other war products, we'll make sure you profit from it." This partnership enabled the U.S. to fight and win the war on two fronts – in Japan and Europe. Government spending on new social programs (Social Security and unemployment insurance) together with the new spending on the military gear up for the war, pulled this country out of the big depression, and led to a belief that government spending could be an answer to economic problems.

The United States was the only World War II nation whose economy wasn't destroyed by the war. U.S. factories and farms were intact and our nation was able to fully function. The Soviet Union and the rest of Europe were devastated by the war, as was Japan, after the war. America continued the same level of military spending as during the war. This level of spending was justified by the alliance with European countries and the advent of the Cold War – the buildup of fear and tensions about the "communist threat" and increased tensions between the United States and the Soviet Union.

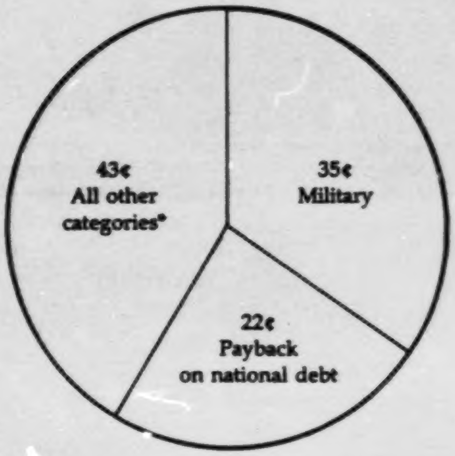
During the 1960s, the United States went to war with Vietnam. This war was not official. War had not been declared, so the president could not ask Congress to raise taxes to pay for the war. So, the money to finance the extra military spending needed to fight in Vietnam was borrowed. The U.S. economy was growing at this time, so money could be spent on social programs *and* on the war in Vietnam and the nuclear arms race.

By the 1970s, other nations' economies were rebuilt and able to compete with America in the marketplace. Japan rebuilt. Europe rebuilt. We no longer had a corner on the market and our growth slowed. U.S. taxes were financing a big military budget, partially to defend Europe and Japan while they invested in new factories.

The United States now is paying the bill for the high level of military spending during the last 30 years. The next generation will pay the bill for the $200 billion deficit that is financing the current military expansion. The government's loans must be repaid, and the non-military sectors of the economy and society remain under-financed. This is one reason the U.S. economy has been in bad shape. Some people, however, argue this is the price we must pay to protect us from Communism. Others say that a weak economy with high unemployment and underfunded social programs is more destructive than our potential enemies. Still others believe that communism does *not* present such a major threat to the U.S. and that high levels of military funding are not necessary.

Despite the economic damage large military budgets cause, the government is unable or unwilling to reduce military spending. President Carter increased the military budget from $100 billion to $150 billion. Now, under President Reagan, the defense budget is projected to be $340 billion by 1986. Between 1982 and 1986, the United States will spend

> *"It is sometimes said that war is a natural condition of man. As a military man, I do not believe it.*
>
> *"I do believe breathing, eating, loving, caring, are natural conditions of man. People don't make war, governments do.*
>
> *"And our governments appear willing to accept war, even nuclear war, as a natural event.*
>
> *"There is not one nation in the world where the people want war. People in the Soviet Union, in the U.S., in China, all are increasingly fearful that governments will sacrifice even their own children, and generations not yet born, for economic gain and political advantage.*
>
> *"Put very simply, will the Soviet Union and the U.S. destroy civilization to ensure that their economic system and their political philosophy dominate the world?*
>
> *"The answer is clear.*
>
> *"Both the United States and the Soviet Union are planning, training, arming, and practicing to destroy each other and all civilization.*
>
> *"Neither side expects to win. Neither side can avoid losing."*
>
> **— Rear Admiral**
> **Gene LaRocque**
> **U.S. Navy Retired**
> **6/25/83**



*** Including: international affairs, veterans benefits, health (9¢), unemployment, housing, environment, food stamps, transportation, agriculture, community development, education (2.6¢), welfare, social services, employment/jobs (1¢), law enforcement, commerce, energy, science and space**

Source: Budget of the U.S. Government FY 1983 (Exec. Office of the President, Office of Management & Budget, 1982).

> ***"A nation that continues year after year to spend more money on military defense than on programs of social uplift is approaching spiritual death."***
>
> **— Martin Luther King, Jr.
> April 4, 1967**

$1.5 trillion to $2.25 trillion on the military. A trillion is 100,000 times a million.

This military buildup is paid for by everybody in this country who pays taxes. For each $1 paid in taxes, close to 50 cents goes to the military. In four years, an average of $20,000 per U.S. household is expected to go to the military.

How does military spending compare to other costs? The accompanying pie graph shows how U.S. tax dollars are spent.

Military spending means less money for education, welfare, community development, health programs and other human services. For example, most of the $5.1 billion in education cuts could have been restored by canceling the B-1 bomber program in 1983. The $6.9 billion in cuts in aid to the poor could have been avoided by reducing Pentagon *growth* from an 18% increase to 15%.

The military buildup also means more scientists and engineers use their knowledge for military purposes rather than for peaceful, civilian interests. One in three U.S. scientists and engineers works on military contracts. The United States once led the steel industry, but new technology developed by Japan and Germany has helped their steel industries flourish while U.S. steel workers are being laid off.

Some argue that military spending helps the economy because it creates jobs. True, each $1 billion spent to develop military equipment creates about 75,000 jobs. However, spending that much in other areas creates even more jobs: $1 billion spent on mass transit would create 92,000 jobs; $1 billion spent on construction would create more than 100,000 jobs; on education could create 190,000 jobs. This disparity is partially because new weapons systems involve complex technology, expensive raw materials, costly equipment and fewer and more highly skilled and highly paid workers than civilian efforts.

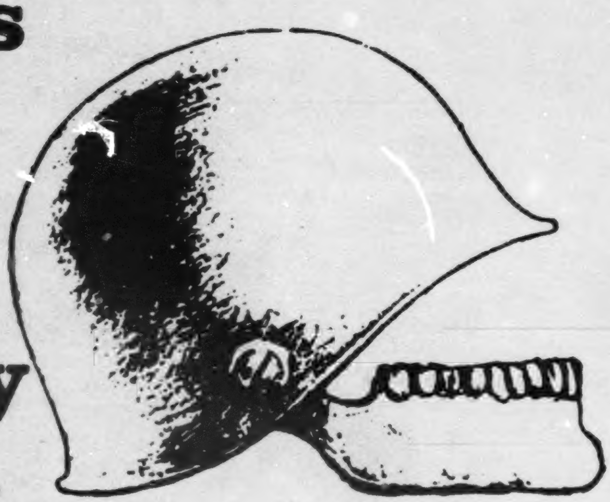
It is important to recognize that who gets jobs differs vastly depending on whether the money is spent to develop nuclear weapons or products valuable to other sectors of the economy. Blue-collar workers and women have a net loss of jobs when the military budget goes up. Fewer of these people work in the defense industry than in other industries – and their lines of work get hit hardest when military spending goes up. The effect is increased unemployment and inflation because fewer people work, and all people are able to buy less with their money.

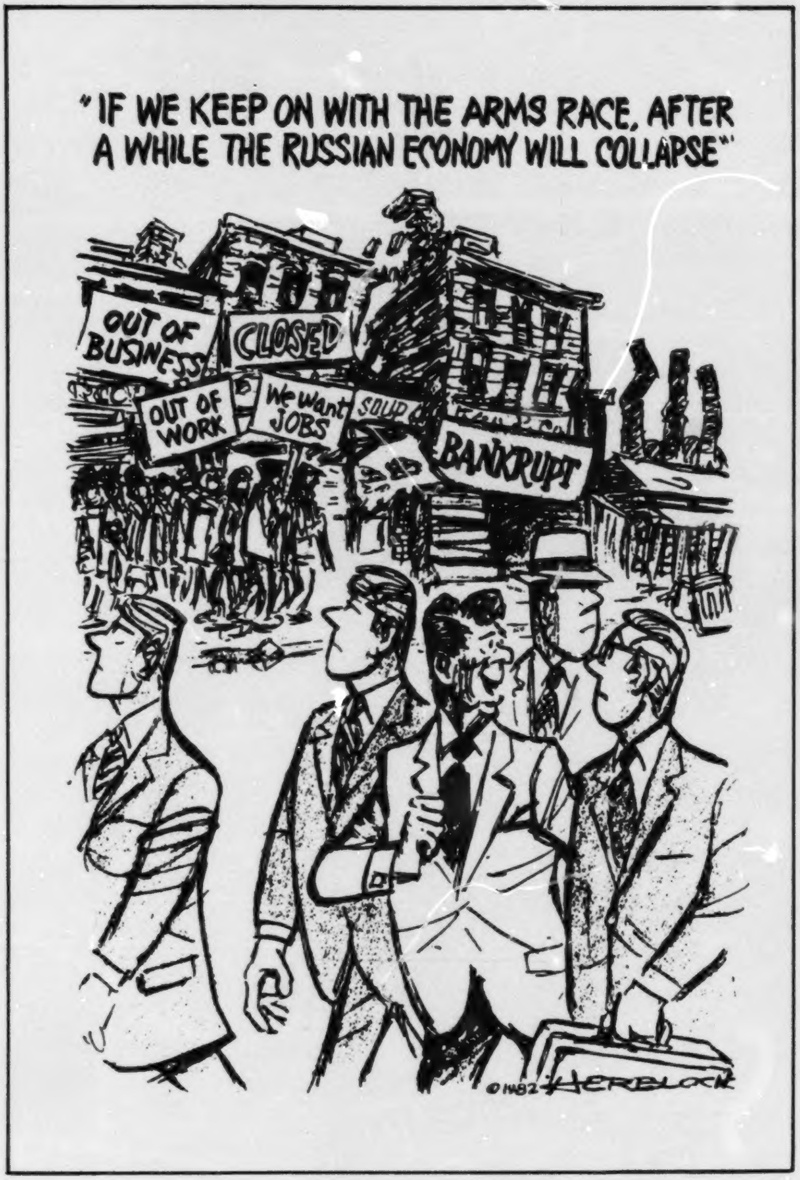
True, some people would lose their jobs if the United States stopped building and developing new weapons systems. But, there are people and organizations working to develop ways to convert factories from military to peacetime work that maintain jobs and serve peace. This effort is called *conversion*. Some plants may be able to continue making the same parts, but for other purposes. For example, electronic chips can be made for the military or they can be made for transistor radios.

Companies that opt for conversion do so for several important reasons: workers' health and safety (working on nuclear technology can be dangerous because of exposure to radiation); contracts get cut because of changing political priorities in Washington, D.C.; technology and product design constantly change;

The money required to provide adequate food, water, education, health and housing for everyone in the world has been estimated at $17 billion a year. It is a huge sum of money

... about as much as the world spends on arms every two weeks.





"IF WE KEEP ON WITH THE ARMS RACE, AFTER A WHILE THE RUSSIAN ECONOMY WILL COLLAPSE"
OUT OF BUSINESS
CLOSED
OUT OF WORK
We Want JOBS
SOUP
BANKRUPT
©1982 HERBLOCK

and because of the devastating effects of nuclear weapons.

Switching from a military oriented economy will require good planning. But such conversions would create more jobs and strengthen our economy.

In the near future, as you decide what kind of job or career to pursue, you will be affected by the government's decisions to spend so much on the military. You may get a defense related job that pays you well, or you may find that jobs in areas you wanted to work in are not available because the money is being spent on the military. In this process you will see how important government decisions are to your own life. As a citizen you have the opportunity and responsibility to try to influence these decisions in whatever direction you want them to go.

Resources

Children's Defense Fund
(research on the impact of the defense budget on youth)

Council of Economic Priorities, *The Costs and Consequences of the Reagan Military Buildup,* New York, 1982.

Congressional Budget Office, An Analysis of President Reagan's Budget Revisions for FY 1982, Washington D.C. GOP, 1981.

Regina Hunter, 15

When I was 12 years old I noticed my grandfather was always talking about the bombs and how much money we spent on them – how it could be spent for other things. My mother used to read the letters to the editor to me, so I would know how other people felt about the issue. I didn't really care that much about it then.

Last year at school they showed movies about Hiroshima during lunch, and then, once I saw what could happen, I started to care. Now, I think about it almost every day. I think about it most when I'm around a lot of people, having a really fine time, and I realize if it happened all these people would leave me. Sometimes I think about it when I'm just being quiet, too.

When I first saw pictures about the bomb they dropped on Hiroshima I had to turn away. It made me sick to see the people suffering, and knowing that they would have no more future, that they were going to die. It was so sad. It's terrible and very unfair that we have to suffer the effects of the bombs when it's the governments of the countries that don't agree.

Learning about the bomb and its effects was very scary. I don't believe I could survive a nuclear war, but if I could, I surely wouldn't want to.

I first got really involved when I started working on this Nuclear Action project. I feel that trying to do something about the issue has made me feel much better about things – less depressed. I'm glad I'm one more person trying to do something to stop nuclear weapons. It seems to me like this age, 15, is when you really start thinking about things, thinking about life, and it's better to feel you can do something about the things you don't agree with.

Other kids should know that if we don't do something soon, terrible things will happen. They should know about the dangers of nuclear weapons and that there are things we can do to prevent a nuclear war. I wish I could tell the politicians that I want to grow up, not blow up. I just don't understand how they think they can survive.

The things that are hard for me to explain to other people are why the Soviet Union and the United States can't settle their differences in a more peaceful way, and why the two countries think they need more and more weapons when we already both have enough to blow up the world. But I try to talk to people about the issue anyway. At first, I was scared to approach people I don't know and talk to them, but now I think it's fun. Sometimes I try to talk to people but they don't want to hear it. I think they're scared to face reality.

The arms race doesn't make sense. We already have more than enough bombs to kill everyone in the world – both countries do. I guess the United States is ahead, but it doesn't really matter. I would feel much more secure if both countries would get rid of their nuclear bombs and sign a treaty. I don't believe the Soviets are much of a threat to us. Actually, I think we're more of a threat to them. They've had so many more wars in their country it seems like they probably understand better how terrible a war would be.

I think way too much is spent on the military. We should spend it on schools, hospitals, medical care, the poor and unemployment. I think the only way we'll change the way the money is spent is by being in demonstrations, writing letters, signing petitions, doing what we can. I suppose voting also helps. I think the fact that so many people are trying to stop the arms race now, that we are having an influence in Congress.

This summer I worked at the Freeze. It was fun because the adults treated us like equals. The work was interesting, and I was impressed that the volunteers treated their work there like a real job. They came every day, just like a job, even though they were volunteers. We were always busy and working hard on the issue; that made me feel like I was accomplishing something. All of us really cared.

I met a lot of new people and I became more outgoing. It felt good to be working with people who were also trying to do something. At first, I thought we would spend the summer just learning about the issue. I liked that we got to actually do things, too. It was interesting to be able to talk to young people who had gotten arrested before and had done things to stop the arms race. Knowing someone, another young person, who had been arrested several times and still felt it was worth it, made me want to do it too someday.

I've never gone to a demonstration. In the past I never heard about any particular demonstration that I supported. But I like the idea of going to demonstrations.

This year I want to get something going at my school, go to demonstrations, work at the Freeze, participate in the Freeze walk-a-thon, give presentations, go to demonstrations, and maybe even get arrested. I definitely plan to stay involved, and I want to work to get other young people involved.

What Is Arms Control? How Does It Work?

Nations go to war when other ways to resolve conflict don't work or aren't tried; when they feel they can make economic gains; and other reasons. Nations can avoid war through rules and agreements. Treaties and other agreements are negotiated through mutual interest and concern and often involve tradeoffs and compromises by the countries involved. Treaties are made when *all* sides believe it is in their interest to avoid war or to avoid use of certain weapons.

> ***"I think arms control and the United Nations are good ideas, but I don't think they can work unless the governments want them to work. And I don't think governments now want them to work."***
>
> **— Lena Flores, 17**

Throughout history, countries have made agreements about which weapons could be used in war, how war could be conducted, and the steps countries would take before going to war.

There have been many attempts to develop agreements limiting nuclear weapons to reduce the chances of war. Limits on the types, numbers and uses of weapons is "arms control." Arms control agreements have not stopped the escalation of the arms race, but they have slowed it and helped lessen tensions between the countries. Moreover, countries have agreed not to test nuclear weapons in the atmosphere because of the harmful health effects of radiation.

It is in the mutual interest of the Soviet Union and the United States to control the arms race. Both nations feel the economic pinch of the arms race. Both live under the fear of nuclear disaster.

Two Key Issues to Resolve in Arms Control

Two big problems facing arms control negotiations are *parity* and *verification*. Parity means both countries have roughly equal arsenals. Historically in war, the strongest country was safest. It requires a significant switch in military thinking to accept that in the nuclear age we are safest when the powers are equal. In such a nuclear standoff, the countries are equally vulnerable and, therefore, reluctant to use nuclear weapons and more open to compromise.

It will require an even *greater* switch for militarists to understand that in a nuclear era war cannot be an option.

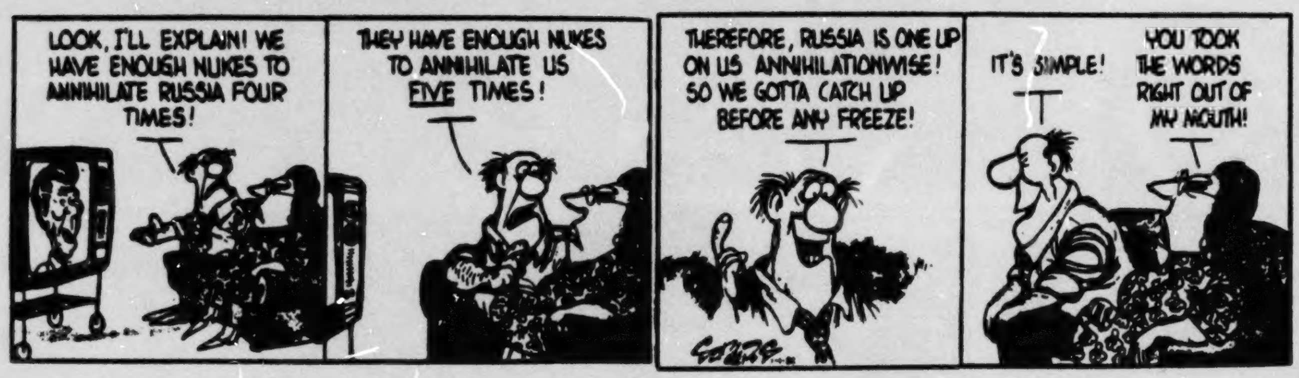
Some people argue that the United States can't negotiate when it is in the weaker position, that talks should wait until it has more nuclear weapons and is stronger than the Soviet Union, thus forcing the Soviets to negotiate an agreement that is advantageous to America.

Yet an arms control treaty has to be based on parity and mutual interests. Parity does not mean missile-for-missile equality, but a *rough* equality. The Soviets may have more missiles, bigger bombs with more megatons, and more land-based missiles. The United States may have more accurate and reliable missiles and more bombers and submarine-based warheads. But, because each superpower has enough force to destroy the other even if hit first, neither country has a clear advantage. That is parity. Most experts agree that at this point in history, the two superpowers are at nuclear parity.

Some people think the United States could gain superiority over the U.S.S.R. and, therefore, should not negotiate an arms control agreement. This view ignores the Soviet Union's stated commitment that it will never again allow itself to fall behind the United States and will do anything necessary to keep up.

The second difficult issue is verification – a way to be certain each country is abiding by the arms control agreement. Some people ask, "How can we trust the Russians?" Arms control does not depend on *trust*. Verification demands that each country allow the other to check its nuclear arsenal. But secrecy about its weaponry has always been important to countries preparing for war. Such thinking makes countries reluctant to agree to verification.

Arms control talks often bog down in deciding how to verify the treaty's terms. However, the superpowers have satellite equipment, radar and surveillance equipment sophisticated enough to check the other country's testing and


LOOK, I'LL EXPLAIN! WE HAVE ENOUGH NUKES TO ANNIHILATE RUSSIA FOUR TIMES!
THEY HAVE ENOUGH NUKES TO ANNIHILATE US FIVE TIMES!
THEREFORE, RUSSIA IS ONE UP ON US ANNIHILATIONWISE! SO WE GOTTA CATCH UP BEFORE ANY FREEZE!
IT'S SIMPLE!
YOU TOOK THE WORDS RIGHT OUT OF MY MOUTH!

deployment of nuclear missiles. Every existing U.S.-Soviet arms control agreement has designed adequate and sufficient verification.

Types of Arms Control Agreements

Arms control agreements can be between two countries ("bilateral" agreements) or among many countries ("multilateral"). In addition, some arms control is unilateral. Unilateral means one countries decides to limit its own development or use of a weapon in the hope that other nations will do the same.

Whether agreements are unilateral, bilateral or multilateral, there are various types of arms control. One limits the number of weapons. One limits the testing of weapons. Another limits the spread, "proliferation," or sale of weapons to countries that don't already have them. A fourth limits the kinds of weapons countries can develop and use. A fifth lays out rules for the conduct of war – for example, to protect civilians or irreplaceable cultural treasures during times of crisis. An example is the agreement to develop a "hot line" connecting the U.S. President and the Russian leaders so in case of a nuclear confrontation they could communicate directly. Another example is the ban on chemical and biological weapons.

The United States and the Soviet Union appear to have abided by the terms of the arms control agreements they have signed. There has been no evidence of violations by either country. Countries have little incentive to cheat on these agreements because the means of verification make it likely that any violations would be discovered.

Although the arms control agreements that have been negotiated have been abided by, only certain aspects of the arms race have slowed. No agreement has managed to *stop* the arms race, much less *reduce* the numbers of nuclear weapons.

The Role of Citizens in Arms Control

There is a lot of pressure on our government from the military and from companies that build weapons to build new nuclear weapon systems. It is important that our government also hear from people who want arms reduced.

Arms control treaties are negotiated for the United States by a team appointed by the president. Often the agreements are reached only after years of meetings. They go into effect when ratified by the Senate. Thus, sustained public pressure is required to establish and ratify an arms control agreement.

In recent years, more Americans have become interested in arms control. The most popular new arms control concept is the "nuclear freeze" – a halt in both countries to the development, testing and deployment of nuclear weapons. A nationwide campaign is underway to pressure the government to negotiate a freeze with the Soviet Union.

Another approach is a no-first-use agreement between the superpowers, whereby each country would agree not to use nuclear weapons unless attacked with nuclear weapons.

MERCHANT
UNICEF
HUNGRY

Nuclear Action for Youth Project members and friends perform a skit they wrote about the United Nations for children in a local day camp

The Role of the United Nations

In 1945, after World War II, the nations of the world set up an organization in an attempt to prevent future wars. Fifty-one nations signed the Charter of the United Nations. The U.N.'s mission was to maintain international peace, provide forums for nations to settle their quarrels peacefully, encourage respect of the rights and freedoms of the world's peoples, develop friendly relations among nations, and cooperate to solve international economic, social, cultural and humanitarian problems. One hundred fifty-seven countries are members of the United Nations, including *all* of the nuclear nations.

Charter of the United Nations

WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS
DETERMINED

to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind, and
to reaffirm faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person, in the equal rights or men and women and of nations large and small, and
to establish conditions under which justice and respect for the obligations arising from treaties and other sources of international law can be maintained, and
to promote social progress and better standards of life in larger freedom,

AND FOR THESE ENDS

to practice tolerance and live together in peace with one another as good neighbors, and
to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security, and
to ensure, by the acceptance of principles and the institution of methods, that armed force shall not be used, save in the common interest, and
to employ international machinery for the promotion of the economic and social advancement of all peoples,

HAVE RESOLVED TO COMBINE OUR EFFORTS TO ACCOMPLISH THESE AIMS.

ACCORDINGLY, OUR GOVERNMENTS . . . DO HERE-BY ESTABLISH AN INTERNATIONAL ORGANIZATION TO BE KNOWN AS THE UNITED NATIONS.

The United Nations is not a world government. It cannot force any nation to act in a specific way. It cannot legislate. It is, however, a forum for member nations to meet and discuss world problems. The U.N. General Assembly consists of a representative from each nation which has one vote regardless of the size or power of the nation. A 15-nation Security Council has the primary responsibility for maintaining international peace. Five of the 15 are permanent members – the United States, the Soviet Union, France, England and China – and the others rotate. Permanent members have veto power over the actions taken by the Security Council as a whole.

The United Nations also has programs to help children, refugees, the hungry and the sick throughout the world.

UNICEF is a branch of the United Nations that specifically works on the problems facing young people throughout the world.

The United Nations has no authority to force member nations to take action against what each considers its own national interests. Yet, the United Nations has been able to settle disputes in almost 70 trouble spots in the world since it was founded. Peacekeeping forces of multi-national troops have helped maintain truces throughout the Mideast and elsewhere.

The United Nations represents an important vision – that the nations of the world can resolve international problems through discussion and joint action. It will become a more effective body if people pressure their governments to take their role in the U.N. seriously, and to live up to its charter.

> ***"I'm glad the United Nations is there because it's a way for governments to have some contact with each other. The United Nations brings them together and that has to help some. But I wish Reagan and Andropov could just sit down and talk without TV cameras and without interpreters and just talk like two human beings.***
>
> **— Wenonah Elms, 13 "**

Arms Control Resources

Organizations:

Arms Control Association, Washington, D.C. (see Appendix)
American Security Council, Peace Through Strength (see Appendix)
Committee on East-West Accord, Washington, D.C.
Institute for Soviet, American Relations, Washington, D.C.
Committee on the Present Danger, Washington, D.C.
U.S. Department of Defense (see Appendix)
Stanford Arms Control Center, Stanford, CA
Soviet-U.S. Children's Letter Exchange (see Appendix)

Books:

Understanding Nuclear Weapons and Arms Control, 1983 Arms Control Research, Arlington, VA

Questions and Answers on the Soviet Threat and National Security, American Friends Service Committee, Philadelphia, PA

The Defense Monitor (a newsletter), Center for Defense Information, Washington, D.C.

What About the Russians? by Santord Gottlieb, STOP Nuclear WAR, Northfield, MA

The Big Debate

People, in learning about the nuclear issue, often have trouble deciding what they think and feel about an issue that is so complex and for which there is so much conflicting information, opinions and arguments. Well-credentialed people from many backgrounds try to convince you to believe their view.

Primary questions in the nuclear weapons debate throughout the world are: Do we need nuclear weapons at all? And how many nuclear weapons, of what size, speed and accuracy are necessary to prevent nuclear war from happening? In other words, while some are arguing about how to get rid of nuclear weapons others are arguing over how countries can *use* nuclear weapons to prevent nuclear war. This may seem strange – to threaten to use weapons in order to avoid war – but it is a strategy many believe works. Hardly anybody is *for* nuclear *war.* Conservatives and liberals alike are against nuclear war. What people disagree about is whether the countries of the world need *more* nuclear weapons of greater sophistication to *prevent* the other side from using their nuclear weapons, or if they need fewer or none.

Deterrence is the term used to describe the theory that nations will not attack each other with nuclear weapons if they know their enemy will fire back and also destroy them. Deterrence works only when each country believes that after it has launched its attack the other is able *and* willing to launch a nuclear counterattack. Deterrence depends on both sides considering it suicide to use nuclear weapons.

Some people question whether deterrence is an appropriate defense. They question whether it is ever morally right

Debra Britt, 15

My history teacher told us about nuclear weapons. When I first heard about it, I felt sad and helpless, like I couldn't do anything about it.

When I heard about Hiroshima and that they dropped the atom bomb there, I felt really sad and wondered how people could just go and kill all those other people for no real reason. I know we were at war, but it seems like they could have done something else instead of killing all of those people. They killed people that weren't responsible, it was the government of Japan that started the war . . . not the people.

Thinking about a nuclear war or a bomb dropped near me – the scariest part is all the panic and commotion that would happen – people going crazy with fear.

I think about nuclear weapons and what they can do. I might just be sitting down staring into space, and I think if there was a nuclear bomb there wouldn't be any more cars, or ground, or anything at all.

When I talk to people about the issue they have two reactions: One is that they don't want to think about it, and two, that it's really great that I'm doing something about it. Mostly they don't say, "Hey, that's something I want to get off into," and that makes me disappointed. I feel like other kids need to get involved to stop nuclear weapons. If they don't, who will? I mean, we're fighting for our future! But I also want to talk to the politicians who can do something about it. I would tell them to give us a chance to live and have a brighter outlook about the future. Nuclear bombs make that possibility – a bright future – seem far away.

I'm not sure who is ahead in the arms race and I don't think it really matters. I mean, it doesn't make me happy to think that we're ahead, or sad to think that maybe the Russians are ahead. We both have enough bombs to kill each other, and if someone drops the bomb, no matter who starts it, we will all suffer. I would feel secure if the United States got rid of its nuclear bombs. I don't really feel scared if the Russians have bombs because I don't believe they would drop a bomb on us unless we dropped one on them first.

The most effective way to stop the arms race is by getting out and telling people about what's going on. Voting helps a little, but it seems like politicians can "fiddle around," postpone votes and things, to keep the right decisions from being made. It doesn't seem like they do what the people want anyway. Congress doesn't seem to agree with my point of view, so I don't feel represented. It seems like the Democrats want peace, but I never heard a Republican speak out about ending the arms race.

I hope I'll stay involved with the kids in my school who are into nuclear issues. I don't think I'll be off into it every day, though. I plan to concentrate on my school work first, then see how much free time I have to do other things.

I've never been to a demonstration. I always thought that being involved in anti-nuclear things meant getting arrested, so that kept me away. I'm against getting arrested. Why? Because I don't want a record. Having a record might keep you from doing things in life that you set out to do. Like if I wanted to work for a big company, if they knew I always blockaded, they might not hire me because they would feel like if I disagreed with something on the job I might sit down instead of trying to solve the problem some other way.

But now that I found out you can go to a demonstration and not get arrested, I think I might try going.

to threaten to use nuclear weapons to destroy another people. Some people oppose deterrence as politically and strategically unsound as a means to provide security.

Before you accept deterrence as a means to avoid nuclear war, here are some important questions to consider:

- What kind of threats do you think our government should rightfully make?
- How many weapons, of what kind, do we need to prevent other countries from thinking they can get away with an attack on us?
- What sort of political policies and leadership do we need to ensure that decisions are made rationally?

There are several main positions argued. Many people in the government and military believe we need many more sophisticated weapons than we have today. They argue we will achieve peaceful deterrence through strength. They trust that possessing more weapons does not mean they will ever be used. They believe that even if nuclear weapons are used in some circumstances, say in Europe, it does not necessarily mean the Soviets will destroy the United States with nuclear weapons. This position is sometimes labeled "peace through strength."

Other people disagree strongly. They believe both countries already have more than enough weapons to deter an attack. These people fear that more weapons eventually may lead to nuclear war, either by accident or because leaders think they have enough weapons to win without being destroyed in the process. They say that historically weapons have never been possessed for long without being used, and that perhaps current political leaders do not appreciate the horror of nuclear war deeply enough to never engage in one.

This group of people is against adding more nuclear weapons. They favor arms control and arms reduction. Many are for a nuclear freeze. Many believe the money spent on nuclear weapons could be used to give people jobs, food and medical care, or for improving non-nuclear military strength to make the U.S. defense strategy less dependent on nuclear weapons. Still others feel that *disarmament* – a total dismantling of all nuclear weapons – is the best way to protect our planet from nuclear war. Finally, there are those forces within our military and government who believe that nuclear war is a good military option. They plan how to fight and *win* a nuclear war, and work to develop nuclear weapons that can be *used* strategically.

Whom do you believe? In the debate, all sides use experts and facts and other persuasive information. Often, all sides use propaganda, which is information slanted toward a certain point of view. Sometimes propaganda hides the truth by using a misleading label. For example, people who oppose increasing nuclear weapons may call people who believe in peace through strength "war mongers," despite the possibility that most people who support a military buildup do not want war. Or people who support a military buildup may call those who support a nuclear freeze "Soviet sympathizers" or "communist dupes."

Another example of propaganda is when President Reagan named the MX missile "Peacemaker." This was done because he wished to persuade the country that the MX will ensure peace though it is designed not to defend against a nuclear attack but rather to start one. Since the MX cannot survive an attack by enemy missiles, it is useful only if it is fired first. Thus, it is a use-it-or-lose-it weapon. The Soviets realize this so they must plan to attack the MX before it is used against them. This logic of "strike first or be struck first" has no end. With a vulnerable weapon like the MX, neither the United States nor the Soviets gain security. It is hard to see the MX as a peacekeeper.

In addition to propaganda, many people in the nuclear debate use technical language that much of the public does not understand. It is up to you to decide why people would not want the public to understand what is being talked about.

In conclusion, gather as much information as you can, hear as many opinions as possible, have as many discussions as you can with teachers, parents, politicians, friends, activists, etc., and finally, always ask yourself what *you* believe is right, and how you need to act to create a safer world.

> ***"I tried some research this summer about the civil defense plans for the Bay Area. I was shocked to realize that there isn't really a system at all. I called the numbers in the phone book and kept getting referred to other departments. I ended up talking with the police department. The person who answered the phone didn't even know who in the department was supposed to handle civil defense. After a long time, I was connected to someone who had a list of shelters, but didn't know which ones were still in existence. You see the fallout shelter signs all over town, but there isn't anyone who even knows which are still useable. Then I went down to one of the shelters and found mice had chewed into all the boxes of rations."***
>
> **— Lena Flores, 17**

Jeannette Gross, 13

I can't remember when I first started thinking about nuclear bombs. I think I always have known but didn't pay much attention. Then about two years ago I heard about some kids who got arrested blockading Lawrence Livermore nuclear labs and it made me start to think. It just makes me so afraid, so disgusted, so angry that there is something so powerful hanging over us all and we don't have a say about it. One man could do it . . . push the button and it's all over. They build nuclear bombs in the name of peace, but after seeing pictures and hearing reports of how awful the destruction can be, I can't believe they could keep thinking they are peace-seeking people.

I think about it a lot now. I think about it when I am having fun – I just think it could happen right now – they wouldn't consult me, they wouldn't warn me, it could just be over.

This year I got arrested at the Livermore blockade. It was really exciting. It felt great to do it. But it was just one day. I guess it made an impression on others – maybe it got some other kids to start thinking about nuclear weapons like I did a couple of years ago when I heard of kids getting arrested. But the TV news said the blockade wasn't effective and didn't do anything. That was discouraging. I don't know, maybe if we keep doing it again and again, and get more and more people to join us it might make a difference.

It means a lot to me to be active. It helps me feel a lot less scared, like I'm not so alone with this fear. There are lots of other people who feel the same way and are doing something too.

I want politicians to know that the arms race is a waste of money. If the bombs are ever used it would kill millions of people – that's not the way to spend our money. And if the bombs aren't used, which I hope for, it's a waste.

I just can't picture the tremendous horror. I can't really imagine that with just the push of a button or a computer mistake, so much death and horror could happen. How can you ever imagine?

I always knew I was against nuclear weapons, I guess, I just felt it. But now that I've really learned something about it, I understand why. The more I learn, the more I feel like I want to keep learning to do everything I can.

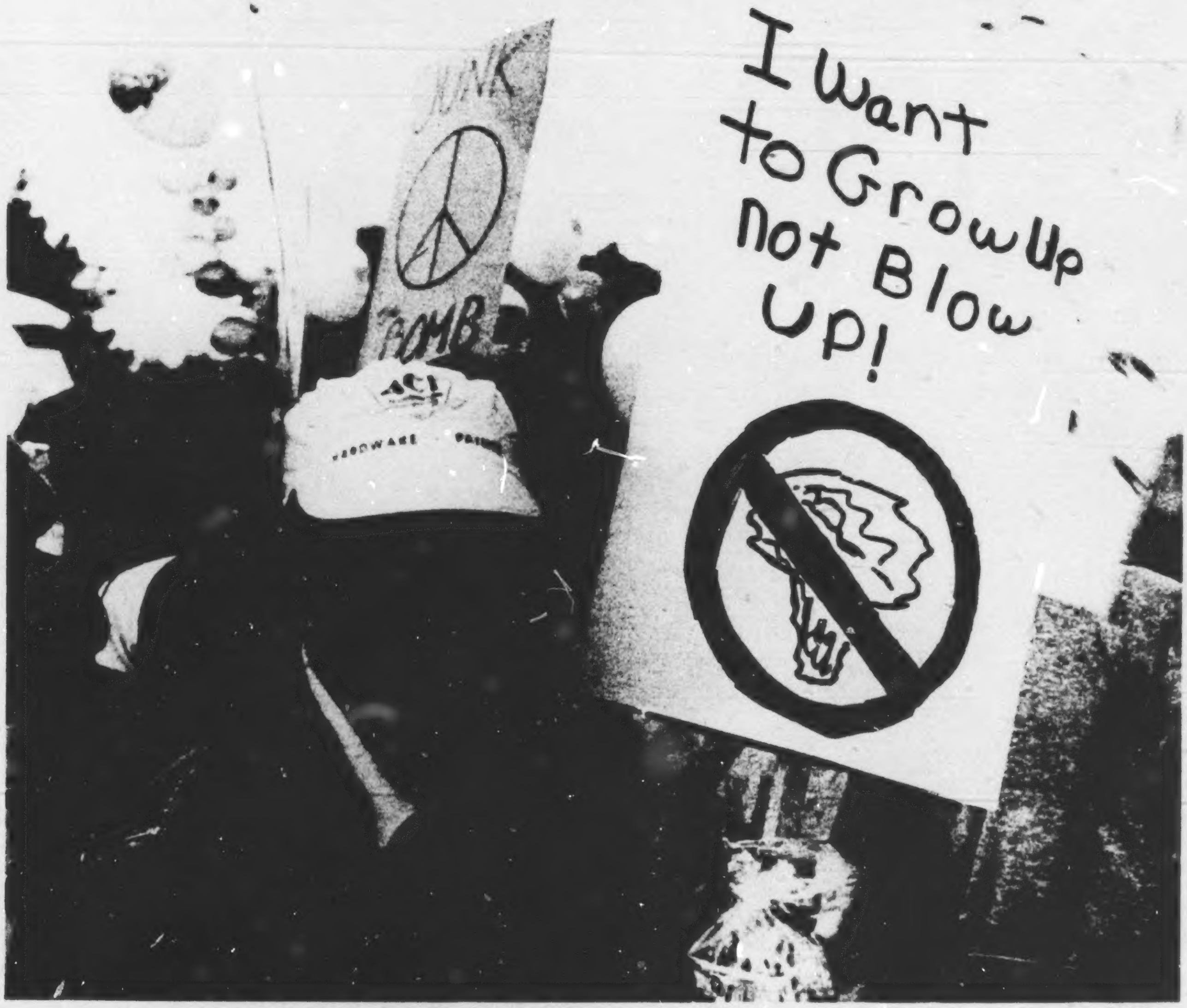
The scariest thing about a bomb being dropped is that I might live through it and have everything around me dead . . . and then being sick or hurt and alone with all that horror around me.

This arms race is silly, just silly. We can already kill everyone. Why do we need more bombs to kill people two or three times over? I don't know who is ahead, but I don't think it matters at all . . . we all have enough. A lot would have to change in order for me to feel secure, but I sure don't feel protected by the way our government just builds worse and worse weapons. We have to learn to live with other countries, as friends. Is that so impossible?

We spend far too much on the military. We need more jobs and better ways to help people like health centers, smaller classes at school, or even better supplies for the schools. We have to share our textbooks with three other classes because there aren't enough books for everyone. That makes it really gross when you read how much we spend on nucler weapons and you remember that kids don't even have books for school.

We have to teach people about it. If people know about the situation, they will do something. I've called my senator's office, and I wrote a letter to the editor. I never heard from my senator and my letter wasn't published. It just didn't seem to work. But working with the Freeze this summer made me feel important, like I helped, like I was a part of something that really could make a difference. I was just a kid volunteering and got a lot of boring stuff to do, but I felt I was really helping.

What Can I Do?


UNK
BOMB
I Want to Grow Up not Blow Up!
ACE
HARDWARE

Introduction

> ***"** The problem with getting my friends involved with the nuclear issue is that they don't know enough about it or even where to get information. I am their teacher now. I give them plenty of information whether they like it or not.* **"**
>
> **— Lena Flores, 17**

You are not alone if you are concerned about the threat of nuclear war. In the last five years, a major movement has formed of Americans who want to stop the arms race and the threat of nuclear war. Thousands of organizations and hundreds of thousands of people are trying to pressure governments to control and reduce nuclear weapons. The movement needs the involvement and imaginations of large numbers of people; it needs new ideas and approaches to educating others about the arms race and to find ways to change the dangerous course of the world.

While no one has come up with *the* way to bring about peace, it is clear that progress will require many people working in many ways. For things to change, each of us must do what we can and must encourage our friends and neighbors to do likewise, whether at home, in school, in our community or nationally.

Some ways of opposing the nuclear buildup take great commitment and energy. But even small gestures of dissent, taken together, carry weight. This chapter contains ideas about different approaches you might take in acting to ensure peace by reducing nuclear arms. The authors recognize but do not support the argument that security will be best enhanced by a buildup of weapons. Hence, activities related to "peace through strength" positions are not discussed here.

A better world demands that people be educated about the past and present so they can create a future that avoids the failings of the past while building on its successes. This chapter deals with educating yourself and others – and specific actions you can take in an effort to make a difference.

Educating Others

Information and action are our best tools for fighting for what we believe is right. It will take many people many years to solve the huge problem of nuclear weapons. The more informed and active people are, the better the chance of creating a safe, democratic future.

Max Friedman leads a discussion of world peace with younger children

Friends and Family

Do your family or friends ever say they fear nuclear war? Many people find it difficult to talk about because they don't want to be thought a "downer." Adults often don't mention nuclear war because they are not sure of what to say or how much kids already know about it. Help break this taboo against talking about the nuclear threat. Take a deep breath and start saying what's on your mind. Friends and family may even be relieved to talk about it because it's been on they're minds but they were reluctant to bring it up.

You might want to try a structured approach to starting a conversation on the issue. Invite people to watch a television program on nuclear issues. Go with them to a movie on the subject. Try playing some anti-nuclear games or activities.

Through informal conversations, bringing up the subject when it is on your mind, or doing some of these activities, you can help others start to think about the issues, and will discover who else is worried and might want to become involved along with you.

In Our Schools

School is a good place to try to help educate and involve others in the nuclear issue because you spend a lot of time there. There are many opportunities to raise the subject and ways to get others involved: put on assemblies, organize lunchtime programs or afterschool activities, use the school newspaper or bulletin boards to pass along information, establish a school club or group to focus on preventing nuclear war. Many students say that getting a nuclear education class offered in their school is the best way to involve a lot of kids. It also makes their parents more aware, and demonstrates that students do have power to make things happen.

To begin organizing at your school, find other students and teachers who are concerned. Start small: a lunch rap group for one day, a film or media presentation after school, an announcement that you're looking for others to go to a demonstration with you. Any group you can pull together will be a good starting point; you can share what to do within your school about nuclear issues.

Once you've organized a small group of concerned kids, the group can decide whether to set up an ongoing organization or club to keep working together, or to put on one event or activity at school. There are numerous possibilities; the important thing is to begin.

If you or your group want to get a class started, identify a teacher who would be willing to help. If it is not possible to institute a course on nuclear education, you might try to have a unit on nuclear issues included in an existing class, such as English, history, social studies or science. In some cases, students have gotten their parents to support their request that this subject be taught. Parents exert great influence in schools and may be very helpful.

Telling Our Nuclear Stories

Tell everyone to close their eyes and take five, slow, deep breaths. Ask them to think back to their first memory or awareness of nuclear bombs. Then ask each person to finish the following sentences, going around the group in a circle so everyone can hear everyone else's response:

"When I think of nuclear weapons I . . ."

"If there were a nuclear war, this is what I imagine the world would be like afterwards . . ."

"When there are articles in the newspaper about nuclear issues or when it comes on the news I . . ."

"I feel most comfortable talking about the fear of nuclear war when . . ."

"When I hear people talk about using nuclear weapons to protect our country I feel . . ."

Also, within your existing classes or as a special event, you can invite a guest speaker to talk about an arms-race issue. For example, you could invite:

- A scientist to explain how nuclear weapons work or their effects.
- A doctor to describe the medical consequences of nuclear war.
- An employee of a defense contractor who works on nuclear weapons to explain his or her job and how they feel about it.
- An anti-nuclear activist and/or someone who favors buildup.
- An expert on the Soviet Union.

Here are some other activities kids throughout the country have done in schools.

- Set up a nuclear newsboard for announcements of demonstrations, news articles, information, etc. on nuclear issues.
- Started a column in the school newspaper on nuclear issues to pass along information and to announce events.
- Worn T-shirts and buttons with anti-nuclear messages.
- Gotten materials from peace organizations and distributed information at a table during lunchtime.
- Hosted a debate on nuclear issues either as a school assembly or as part of a social studies or current events class.
- Surveyed students to find out

> ***"It gave me satisfaction knowing that maybe I could get through to someone and maybe I've changed some kid's mind. I haven't felt uncomfortable working at the Freeze since the first day. I really like my co-workers. It seems they use us in good ways and not just make up work to get us out of the way. I feel they treat our work like it means something and they value us."***
>
> — Jeanette Gross, 13

Showing Where I Stand

Tell your friends you will make a statement or ask a question and you want them to move to the part of the room that represents how they feel about each statement or question. This is how it works:

"How often do you think about the threat of nuclear war?" (Designate one corner of the room for "Everyday," another corner for "every now and then," and another for "almost never or not at all.")

"Do you think you would survive a nuclear war?" (One corner is "yes," and another corner, "no.")

"How likely do you think a nuclear war is in the next five years?" (One corner is "very likely," another "not at all likely," and the other corner is "don't know.")

Make up other statements and questions.

> *"I think any action is worth doing. Demonstrations make me feel happy and exhilarated. People focus on love of life rather than death or fear. It's great."*
>
> — **Max Friedman, 16**

> *"I have been to demonstrations before and they were fun. I try to think about it like an adventure and then it's not scary. The one thing that really scares me, though, about civil disobedience is what about if I get arrested by a racist police officer and he decides to take it out on me. My mom worries about that, too. She grew up in the South and remembers civil rights demonstrations. I want to try it though . . . I need to try all kinds of ways to protest the arms race, but I'm a little scared."*
>
> — **Ursell Austin, 16**

their opinions about nuclear issues.

- Sponsored a film festival with features that presented many viewpoints on the issue.
- Lobbied student government to pass a resolution on nuclear issues.

But remember, if you want to involve more kids than those who already are very active, avoid seeming as if you have all the answers. Be open to other people's views, and realize that they may not be sure of exactly what they believe.

Several national organizations can help you organize activities in your school. These organizations generally involve students and teachers, and encourage you to work with teachers you trust.

Students/Teachers Organization to Prevent Nuclear War (S.T.O.P.), is a national organization of concerned high school students and teachers. They have materials and can help you do something in your school. S.T.O.P.'s newsletter reports nuclear-related activities in schools all over the country. S.T.O.P. also publishes a manual that explains how to start a school group, how to put on events and activities in your school, and lists good films and other resources you might use. The manual, *STOP Nuclear War: First Steps*, is available for $2 from the national office, Box 232, Northfield, MA 01360.

Another group to contact is Educators for Social Responsibility, an organization of teachers trying to prevent nuclear war and who are interested in teaching nuclear education in schools. The national E.S.R. office can provide a list of people in your community who are involved, and can provide copies of its newsletter and curriculum materials if you try to set up a class at your school. The address is in the Appendix to this book.

Also in the Appendix is a list of useful curriculum materials available for teachers to use in nuclear education classes. Tell your teachers these materials are available, for someone may be more easily persuaded to teach a course or a unit if they know there are good materials they can use.

Organizing With Others: In Numbers There Is Strength

You can do a lot on your own to try to lessen the threat of nuclear war – write letters, talk to friends, vote. But you can be more effective, and less lonely, if you work with other people.

Many organizations are working for peace. (A partial list is in the Appendix.) There are great differences in what each does, how it runs and what its members believe needs to be done.

To decide whether an organization is a good one for you to work with, find out its goals and membership, what it does and how it does it. If you are sure of what you feel comfortable doing and what your opinions are about nuclear issues, it will be fairly simple to figure out if a particular organization suits you. If, on the other hand, you are not positive about your beliefs or the work you want to do, you may want to join an organization on a trial basis to help you firm up your thoughts. At any rate, you might have to try several organizations before you find the right one for you.

Types of Organizations

Some organizations are *educational*, which means they provide only information and materials to the public. Such groups often have speakers to send to schools and community groups, films or slide shows to show and loan, and pamphlets and books to sell. Some educational groups have exchange programs in which U.S. citizens meet people from different countries to learn more about each other. Educational groups sponsor discussions or debates in which people with opposing points of view explore their differences so the audience learns various perspectives. Such meetings commonly are held for free in churches, schools and community centers. They are a good way to learn.

Other groups *lobby*, which means they try to influence how legislators vote. Lobbying organizations register voters, circulate petitions to take to politicians to show public support for some action. They visit legislators, initiate letter-writing campaigns, and inform the public about how legislators vote.

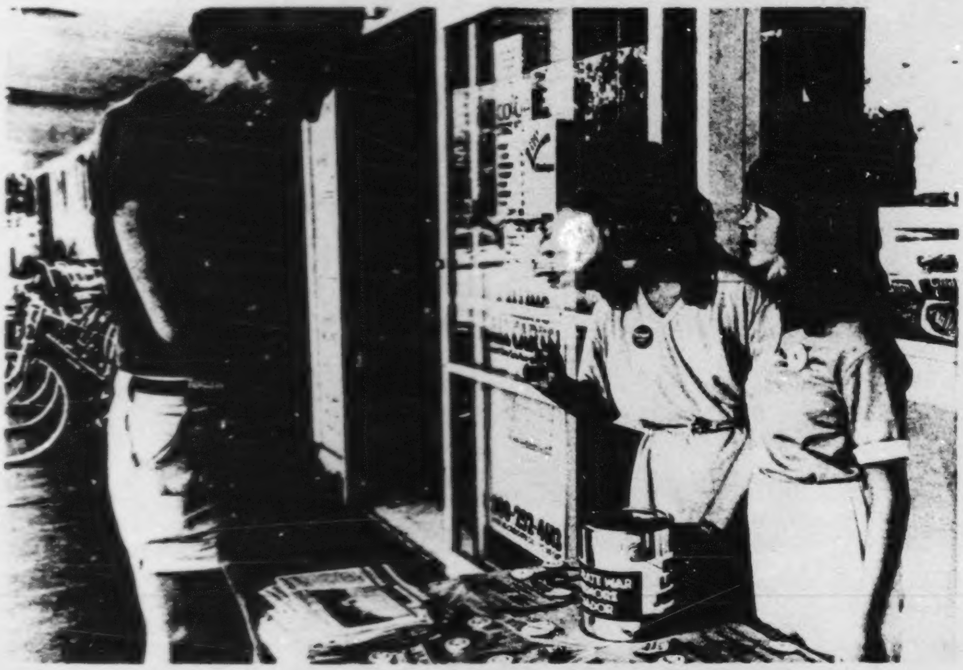
Other organizations take *direct action*: demonstrations, blockades, rallies, boycotts, and other ways of organizing people to show their support for stopping the arms race.

Organizations also differ in the aspect of the problem they are trying to affect. For example, one group might emphasize improving relationships between the United States and the Soviet Union. Another might focus on trying to get a freeze resolution passed by a state legislature. Some believe total disarmament is the answer. Others are set up to encourage more nuclear weapons and a stronger military. Some may be concerned only with nuclear weapons, others with all weapons of war. Here are some things to ask yourself about an organization after seeing its materials or talking to members:

- Will what this organization is doing help prevent nuclear war?
- Is this organization's focus what I think is really important?
- Does the way this organization describes the problem make sense to me?

Most organizations are open to anyone. It is up to you to decide if you want to be part of the group. A good way to decide is to visit the office or attend an event the organization sponsors. See if you feel welcome and like the people. See if you support the way they work and what they do.

> ***“**Other kids should know that if we don't do something soon, terrible things will happen. They should know about the dangers of nuclear weapons and also that there are things we can do to prevent a nuclear war. It's hard for me to explain to other people why the United States and the Soviet Union can't settle their differences in a more peaceful way, and why the two countries think they need more and more weapons when we already both have enough to blow up the world. But I try to talk to people about the issues anyway. At first I was scared to bring it up, but now I do it. Sometimes I try to talk to people but they don't want to hear it. I think they are scared to face reality. That makes me really sad.**”***
>
> **— Regina Hunter, 15**



Zafra Epstein and Wenonah Elms set up a literature table at a supermarket in Oakland, California

Public Action: Taking Part in Marches, Rallies, Demonstrations and Civil Disobedience

> *"The blockade this year at Livermore was the best and it also made me feel better about the other actions I had been in. This time all the kids getting arrested were very prepared and committed. We knew what we were doing and why we were there. We had a lot of solidarity before the blockade. It helped to know there were people there – other kids – who you felt close to, who cared about you and cared deeply about the issue. At this action, 74 kids were arrested and taken to juvenile hall. Mostly, people weren't hurt and got out of juvenile hall fairly quickly."*
>
> **— Max Friedman, 16**

> *"I've been to demonstrations, and the big surprise was that they were fun. Being there with so many people who are there for a sense of purpose makes you feel energy and power. The only thing I worry about a little is being in such a big crowd – what if it got out of hand? But it never has so far. I've never blockaded or done civil disobedience. Someone I know did and he got roughed up a little – that doesn't sound too appealing to me. But regular demonstrations are just fine."*
>
> **— Caedmon Fujimoto, 16**

Americans frequently let their concerns be known by demonstrating publicly. The country was founded by people who acted publicly against the government of Britain. Demonstrations by women to win the right to vote early in this century led to women's right to vote. The civil rights movement led by Martin Luther King, Jr. in the sixties achieved the greatest social changes for black people in the nation's history by demonstrations throughout the country.

There are many kinds of public action. A demonstration is any public event put on to make a political point. It is important to understand the various types of demonstrations so when you hear about a planned demonstration you know what to expect. This chapter focuses first on legal, planned demonstrations. Then we discuss illegal acts of civil disobedience, another form of public action.

Marches

A march is a legal walk or parade along a specified route. Marchers usually carry signs and banners to let others know why they are demonstrating. Most announcements of marches name the sponsoring organizations and in the title tell the "message" of the march (e.g., "March to End the Arms Race," or "March to Protest Arms Shipments to El Salvador," or "March for Jobs and Freedom"). If you want to know more, call one of the sponsoring organizations and ask the reasons for the march, what's planned, who else is taking part.

A big march, or a march during a slow news day, usually gets press coverage. That's why it's a good idea to carry a sign or wear a T-shirt with a message or have some other visual means of getting your point across. Sometimes the march organizers will provide signs. You can make your own sign or banner. Ask a friend to go with you. When you get there, if you feel uncomfortable about what is happening, just leave.

Rallies

A rally is a gathering at a certain place and time where people take a stand on an issue. Often, marches end at a park or plaza where there is a rally. Many rallies are held without a march. Rallies are events at which you can take a public stand by being there and being counted (e.g. "600 people attended a rally today in protest against the building of a nuclear missile"). You can learn something about the issue and organizations by listening to the program. There often are "literature tables" at rallies, for organizations to make their materials available. Read the materials, to get a sense of the efforts in your community to prevent nuclear war.

Vigil

At a vigil people stand together in protest or in remembrance. Vigils both make a public statement and give participants a chance to get together at an important time. Vigils have been held during nuclear tests, as a countdown during the hours before an important vote on nuclear issues, and to remember the anniversary of nuclear bombings. Sometimes vigils are by candlelight at night, others are silent vigils. Attending a vigil is a way to show you care.

Public Forum/Teach-In

Public forums or teach-ins are organized to educate. The public is invited. Often there are speakers, films and discussion or question-and-answer periods.

Boycott

A boycott is people agreeing not to buy a product or take part in something linked to the issue of concern, in this case nuclear weapons or the arms race. Boycotts are called by organizations that ask the public to join them in their effort to change a company policy or product.

For example, some anti-nuclear organizations called for a boycott of General Electric products (light bulbs, dish washers, etc.) because General Electric was building parts for a new nuclear weapon.

Civil Disobedience

Civil disobedience is different from the types of demonstrations just described. Civil disobedience means breaking a law because you feel the law is wrong or because you feel you need to try to change a certain situation that is morally unacceptable.

Some people participate in civil disobedience by refusing to pay taxes that go to nuclear weapons. Blockades or other forms of trespassing are another way in which people disobey laws to make a moral or political point. A blockade is an attempt to stop something by getting in the way. They are illegal and participants are subject to arrest. Civil disobedience during the civil rights movement often took the form of marches and demonstrations where there was no permission to march and, therefore, these activities were illegal.

Civil disobedience is being used increasingly in the anti-nuclear and peace movements. Deciding whether to participate is a decision you should consider carefully. If you decide to go ahead, and accept the consequences of your possible arrest, research the situation to find out what to expect.

Peace organizations in your community that have participated in civil disobedience actions and other kids who have experience can tell you what to expect, before, during and after the arrest. They can help you prepare for the event.

Most organizations that sponsor blockades or acts of civil disobedience can help you think through your feelings, fears and decision about taking part. Many offer non-violence training and orientation to help you prepare for the arrest and to meet others who will be there to support you.

Civil disobedience by a minor (under 18) will result in different treatment than participation as an adult. Different laws govern the treatment of adults and juveniles. A major difference is that once arrested in an act of civil disobedience, adults usually are taken to jail. They also have the right to a public trial. Juveniles, however, while also arrested, are taken not to jail, but to *juvenile hall*. As a minor, you will not have the right to a public trial.

There are additional differences, too, depending on what state you live in. For these reasons, try to find other kids who plan to participate or have already participated in "actions." They can provide a support group for the entire action – preparation, arrest, booking, etc. Knowing exactly what will happen from

A teen-ager being arrested for civil disobedience at the June 1983 blockade of Livermore Nuclear Labs

> ***"These are the times for real choices and not false ones. We are at the moment when our lives must be placed on the line if our nation is to survive its own folly. Every one of humane convictions must decide on the protest that best suits his (her) convictions, but we all must protest."***
>
> **—Dr. Martin Luther King**
> **April 4, 1967**

“I took part as a supporter in the civil disobedience blockade at Livermore nuclear labs, and didn't get arrested. My mom was worried about me being arrested. She remembered the demonstrations during the 1960s when people got tear gassed and beat up and she was afraid for me. I didn't want to go against her, so I didn't do civil disobedience. Being a supporter was important, but hard. I felt outside it all. Everyone was talking about what a great experience it was getting arrested, and how important it was, and I wasn't really part of that. Mainly I held onto things. I held coats and water bottles for the people getting arrested. I cheered for them, and brought oranges and apples down to juvenile hall to greet them when they were released.”

— Wenonah Elms, 13

“I think putting pressure on Congress and the president are the most effective things we can do to stop the arms race. That and participate in massive protests across the country – then they will have to listen to us. I think voting is important, but I only wish everyone who could vote would register, and that everyone who registered would vote . . . . Now it's like a lot of people either don't care or have given up. But if we all use our vote, then we might be able to stop the arms race.”

— Caedmon Fujimoto, 16

kids who have already been through it will help keep you from being afraid. Being with a group of kids who are adequately prepared (received non-violence training) and who feel solidarity with you can make a big difference in how you experience your first act of civil disobedience.

If you are unable to find a group of minors in your community with experience in acts of civil disobedience, try to find out what your community has done in the past to those involved in illegal actions. Each community has its own policies, and knowing what they are might help you make up your mind whether to participate.

To our knowledge, minors participating in civil disobedience are seldom charged. They usually are arrested, taken to juvenile hall, held briefly then released. If this occurs, and no formal charges are filed, you have no record even though you were arrested.

Finally, if you are going to participate in civil disobedience, you should ask yourself if you want or need the support of your parents or family, especially if you get arrested. If you decide that this support is important, you may want to discuss your participation with your parents beforehand so that they know what to expect, and are not frightened or angered when they get a call informing them of your arrest. Knowing that your parents know what to expect will make you more comfortable as you go through the experience of dealing with the police and the court.

Voting Power

In a democracy it is the responsibility of the people to express their beliefs through the political process. Not voting or expressing ourselves politically amounts to telling the government that we approve of what it is doing. We then share responsibility for what the government does.

One very important tool we have to try to stop the weapons build-up is the vote. We have the right to vote for candidates who will work to create peace, and we can vote on initiatives to pressure the government to negotiate arms control.

Who Can Vote?

Any U.S. citizen 18 and older is eligible to vote. However, even if you are eligible, you can't vote in any election until you are registered. To vote, you have to register at least 29 days before the election. If you move, you must re-register at your new address. In some states, ex-felons – people convicted of a felony crime – are not allowed to vote while they are on probation or parole. To check ex-felons status in your state, call the Registrar of Voters.

How to Register to Vote

Fill out a Voter Registration Form and mail it in to the county registrar of voters. The postcard form is already addressed to the registrar's office and the postage has been paid in advance. You can get these forms at banks, department stores, libraries or by calling the registrar of voters in your area.

After the registrar of voters has received your registration, you will be sent a voter notification card confirming your new registration record.

In some states, the registration form will ask you to select a political party designation. You can select one of the qualified political parties listed on the form (Republican and Democratic parties are always listed), you can fill in the name of any other political party or you can decide not to state any political party choice.

The selection of a political party for voting purposes is most important for primary elections because the party determines which candidate you can vote for. If you indicate you are a Republican, in the primary you can decide from among all the Republicans who are running which one the party will support. If you register as a Demo-

Lena Flores, 17

When I was about 7 or 8, my sister's friends saw a movie about Hiroshima and told me about it. I remember they told me that people's skin fell off. I couldn't believe anything could be so bad, so I asked my dad. And he told me about Hiroshima and the war and how we dropped the bomb on Japan. It just seemed so horrible. And I kept thinking . . . people's skin just fell off and our government did it on purpose. Now, I always think about it, every day, all the time. It is always there.

A lot of times I get angry. I want people to know about what's happening to us and do something about it; I'm angry the government has control over so many people's death. For a long time I didn't know enough about the issue to get involved, and I didn't know how to be involved. Now I think I will always be active. I've started going to demonstrations, and vigils of concern. I'm trying to get my friends involved, at least trying to get them to think about the issues. It's worked. They are starting to think about it seriously now. It's a big change for me to be involved like this. My family thinks it's okay, but they are afraid I will get arrested and won't be able to get into college. But it means a great deal to me to do everything I can to prevent nuclear war, because it's such an important, real issue.

I don't want other people to agree and follow along with me just for the sake of agreement. I want them to use their own brains to figure it out for themselves. I want them to get information, start thinking about it and learning.

Politicians have made it so complex and obscure for themselves. It seems simple enough for a 6- or 8-year-old – but politicians just seem too wrapped up in their own words. Why would we want to kill everyone in the world? Why would we even want to kill 100 million people? Sometimes my friends ask me, "Why do they make these weapons?" and I have trouble answering them: I know what the politicians say, but it doesn't make any sense at all. To me their reasons seem crazy.

When I think about a nuclear war, I think it's incredible that people would care so little about other people, that they could inflict such horror. If a bomb were being dropped now, I would think – I guess not enough people cared enough to stop it.

I think arms control and the United Nations and things like that are good ideas, but I don't think they can work unless the governments want them to work. And I don't think our governments do want them to work. If enough of us got involved, I think we might be able to stop the arms race. At least get a freeze – someday maybe disarmament. Too many people don't know what is going on, though. We have to educate people, we have to write letters and pressure our government and get other people thinking about their lives. If enough of us said we don't want this . . . maybe we could stop it.

I like working in an organization of people trying to stop the arms race. I feel that together we could do something. When I go to demonstrations, at first it feels scary. Then I feel good because there are all those people there who are concerned, then I feel bad because I want more people to be involved. I'm going to get on the mailing lists and get the materials from a lot of different organizations. I plan to go to forums and things where they have speakers, and go to demonstrations. I'm thinking about going to a blockade although I'm not ready, yet, to get arrested.

> ***"I feel that getting involved and trying to do something about nuclear bombs has made me feel much better – a lot less depressed. I'm glad I'm one more person trying to do something about it. It seems to me like this age, 15 years old, is when you really start thinking about things, thinking about life, and it's good to feel you can do something about the things you don't agree with."***
>
> **— Regina Hunter, 15**

crat, you will help decide which of the Democratic candidates will run in the main election.

Regardless of which party you select on your registration form, you are free to vote for any candidate you wish in a general election.

Most of our voting is for candidates for offices in city, state and national governments. We vote for the people we feel best represent our own views on issues. If our representative – city council member, state senator, congressman, etc. – does not think and act as we want, we should work to elect someone else.

Sometimes individuals or groups want to put an issue before the voters. They do this by getting enough signatures on a petition to have it put on the ballot. This is called the initiative or referendum process. When voters approve or disapprove a ballot issue, the political representatives have to make policies that reflect the people's wish as expressed by the vote. If an initiative on your state ballot called for the state university system to refuse defense work, and if it were voted for by the majority, it would become law.

In summary, there are, basically three major ways you can influence the arms race through the electoral process:

1. Vote for candidates who support your views on nuclear weapons. If none of the candidates has taken a position on nuclear issues, question them about the issues you feel are important. If enough people ask them about a certain issue, they will be forced to publicly take a stand on that issue, thus making it easier to decide whether to vote for them.

2. Propose laws through use of the initiative process at the state and local levels. Enough signatures will put a suggested law before the people and let them decide. In California, for example, the Nuclear Freeze initiative went before the voters and was approved by them.

3. Circulate petitions with a resolution, or lobby our representatives to suggest resolutions which, while not binding, are strong indicators of support and can influence our representatives to take a stand.

How Does the Government Decide Which Weapons to Build at What Cost?

Governmental decisions about the arms race involve three related groups: Congress; the Executive Branch (the president, his cabinet, department bureaucrats and other advisors) which includes the Pentagon and the Defense Department (the Army, Navy, Air Force); and the arms industry that makes the tanks, planes, and bombs. Each group plays a different role. The arms industry, with university help, designs, invents and builds new weapons. The Pentagon decides what weapons it would like designed or purchased. Congress provides funds for the Pentagon to buy these weapons and authorizes new research and development. The president and the Executive Branch set broad military goals and spending targets.

Most government decisions regarding weapons research, development, manufacture and deployment are made in secret; others are made public, only after they are fairly established.

The process begins each year when the various armed services submit their requests for money for weapons and personnel during the coming fiscal year to the Secretary of Defense, who uses the budget requests to put together an overall military spending plan. From here it goes to the government's Office of Management and Budget (OMB), where it is polished to ensure that it is in line with what the president wants. In January, the president delivers his program to Congress.

Before the military budget emerges from Congress, it must first pass a series of hurdles: votes in subcommittees, committees, then the House and the Senate each votes as a whole. Next the House and the Senate hammer out a compromise between the two versions of the budget they passed separately.

Military spending is considered by three committees in both the House and the Senate:

- Budget Committee–Sets a ceiling on military spending.
- Armed Services Committee–Authorizes spending up to certain limits in specific military categories, based on recommendations from its subcommittees.
- Appropriations Committee–Proposes how much to spend in the military categories, based on the recommendations of its subcommittees of defense. The committee can approve spending as much as, but not more than, levels authorized by the Armed Services Committee.

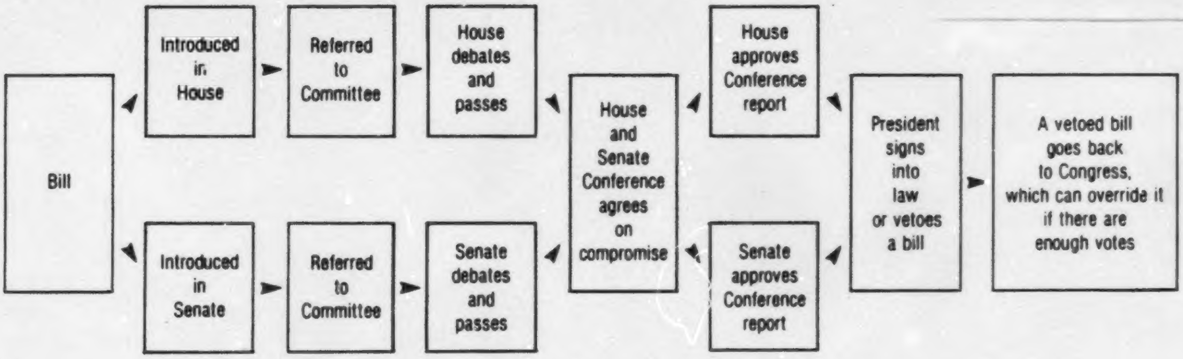
While bills are in committees is when you can try to influence the direction and spending of the military. The Appropriations Committee is more likely to question Department of Defense requests than is the Armed Services Committee, which traditionally is closely connected to both the Pentagon and the companies that make the weapons.

Once a military bill leaves the commitees and gets onto the floor (the entire House or Senate) it is unlikely to be changed. Once the budget is passed and the allocated money is authorized to be spent by the agencies that requested it, the government's military policy for a specified year or number of years has been made.

In the process of deciding how much money Congress appropriates for weapons, every representative is important because all 435 members of the House and 100 senators vote on defense spending bills. Some representatives and senators are more important than others, though, because they sit on committees that shape the bills that eventually are voted on. For example, a committee might determine that the entire House and Senate vote on a $500 million bill for the MX missile, or a bill allocating $100 million. The choice for the whole Senate is only between whether $100 million or $500 million is spent. In a committee, members might be influenced to change the bill so the vote is between no money and $50 million, rather than between $100 million and $500 million. The committee members who decide the choices have a lot of power; approximately 90% of all bills die in committee and never come to the full Congress for a vote.

How A Bill Becomes Law

The sketch below shows the most common way in which proposed legislation is enacted into law. There are more complicated, as well as simpler ways. Most bills die in committee and never become law.


Bill
Introduced in House
Referred to Committee
House debates and passes
Introduced in Senate
Referred to Committee
Senate debates and passes
House and Senate Conference agrees on compromise
House approves Conference report
Senate approves Conference report
President signs into law or vetoes a bill
A vetoed bill goes back to Congress, which can override it if there are enough votes

Source: How You and Your Friends Can Help Prevent Nuclear War. Newell Mack, Carla B. Johnston.

Beyond Voting: Making Your Voice Heard in Government by Lobbying, Writing, Calling

> ***"The amazing thing is that everyone who works there is so nice, and they are all just volunteering their time because they think it's important. It makes me happy to be there with people who feel like I do about nuclear war. And they really need my help. At first I thought I might not be welcome, but they really needed me."***
>
> **— Zafra Epstein, 13**
>
> **About working with Livermore Action Group**

Debating issues – whether the MX missile, tax increases or students' rights – is everyone's responsibility. Telling someone how you feel about an issue is taking action; you are encouraging others to think about the issue too. This is how public opinion is formed.

Elected officials are deeply influenced by public opinion because they need it in their favor to be elected. This means you and others have power – if you express your opinions so that officials hear them. Telling a politician that whether you vote for or against him or her depends on how they vote on arms-related issues can affect their vote. A handwritten letter or a phone call can have a surprising influence on a politician. Congressional aides say 10 letters or phone calls will get the representative's attention and could swing his or her vote.

By banding together to express our opinions on particular issues we can make a difference in the arms race. This is what lobbying is about.

To lobby successfully you must know whom to influence and the best time to do it. To keep up on whom to lobby and when, subscribe to one of the "legislative alerts" published by peace and anti-nuclear organizations that keep abreast of legislation and tell you who to contact and how to reach them. To receive an alert, contact one of the Washington-based groups that lobby for arms control. A list is in the end of this chapter. There is also a phone number of a free hotline to call for a list of each week's major upcoming votes.

Making your opinions known may be easier than you think. Here are guidelines for contacting your legislator, the president or the media.

Contacting Your Representatives in Congress

Your representatives' votes on nuclear missiles, arms control agreements, or the military budget can be strongly affected by local public opinion. So concerned citizens should tell their elected officials what they think.

If you've never written your representative, one reason may be that you're making too big a deal about it. It's simple to keep those cards and letters flowing if you have paper and envelopes already addressed and stamped. Then, whenever you hear something you feel strongly about, you can write while the issue is current.

If your letter is received while the issue is still being debated in committee, or just before a key vote, the congressional staff will show it to your representative with other pros and cons.

Try to write a personal letter, but don't wait until you can compose the perfect letter, just write what you believe, from your heart. One congressman said he pays more attention to a sincere letter legibly handwritten on a scrap of paper than to all the form letters he receives. Your own common sense will tell you what to write. But if you don't have time to write a letter send a postcard.

Suggestions on Writing Personal Letters to Politicians

1) Whether your legislator is for or against your issue, start with a positive comment, perhaps a compliment about your representative's openness to citizen opinion. If you start with something positive, and offer some support for the person, your representative is more likely to listen to you. The more support they get from their constituents, the more committed they'll feel to vote for that issue. Fellow representatives often put great pressure on a senator or House member to vote their way, and your letter of support will encourage your representative to remain firm in support of your issues.

2) Show your representative you

know something about his or her stand on military issues by mentioning a recent speech, vote, or relevant news story or public comment by your representative. If you're not sure where your representative stands on a particular issue, call his or her local office and ask. You have a right to know how your elected official plans to vote on issues. Peace organizations can also tell you your representative's voting record.

3) Include a personal insight about the way the prospect of nuclear war concerns or frightens your family, or how the arms race has affected your family. Don't hesitate to take a moral or religious stand, to share a conversation or nightmare, or even a personal reaction to a television show or movie about the nuclear threat.

4) Keep your letter focused on the issue. You don't have to be an expert to voice an opinion. There is nothing wrong with saying, for example, "I'm 18 years old, I'm no military expert, but the MX missile doesn't make any sense to me."

5) Let your representative know you will be watching how he or she votes on the issue. If you don't vote yet, indicate your whole family is concerned and you all will be watching. If you feel your representative is not doing a good job of representing you, say so in your letter – with a reminder about the coming election.

6) Make sure you name, address and phone number is on your letter – and sign it legibly.

Where to Write:

Rep.____________
House Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20515

Sen.____________
Senate Office Building
Washington, D.C. 20510

How to Write to the President

If you want the president to know how you feel, write to him or to any of his advisers or Cabinet members. If you ask a direct question in your letter, you have a better chance of receiving an individualized response. The letters the president receives about a particular speech or press conference are tallied and given to him. Remember, the president is also your elected representative, and he wants to know how the voters he hopes will re-elect him stand on issues.

Where to Write:

The President
The White House
Washington, D.C. 20500

If You Would Rather Telephone:

If you want to quickly contact your representative about an upcoming vote, or if you prefer to talk than write, call (202) 224-3121 to reach your representative's office. (The operator will answer "the capitol," and you then ask for a particular representative's office.) You may not be able to speak with your representative, but if he or she isn't in, ask to speak with the legislative aide, which can be as effective as talking to your representative directly. You also can call the White House to let the president know your opinion. The number for the Comment Section is (202) 456-7639. When the president gives a speech or calls a press conference, the Comment Section often stays open late to receive calls and comments on what he has just said. (When you call this number, the operator answers, "The Executive Offices of the President" and then you comment on the specific issue.)

Sending a Telegram

You can send a message by telegram. Western Union has a toll-free number – which means you don't pay for the call – (800) 257-2241. You can charge the cost of the telegram to your phone bill. Before you send a message through Western Union, you must have the name, address, and zip code of the addressee. Telegram costs vary, but for 20 words or less, it's cheaper than $5 to send a telegram to Congress or the White House. A telegram is delivered within hours of sending it.

You also can send a mailgram, which costs less than a telegram and you get up to 50 words to express your opinion. A mailgram is not delivered until the next day.

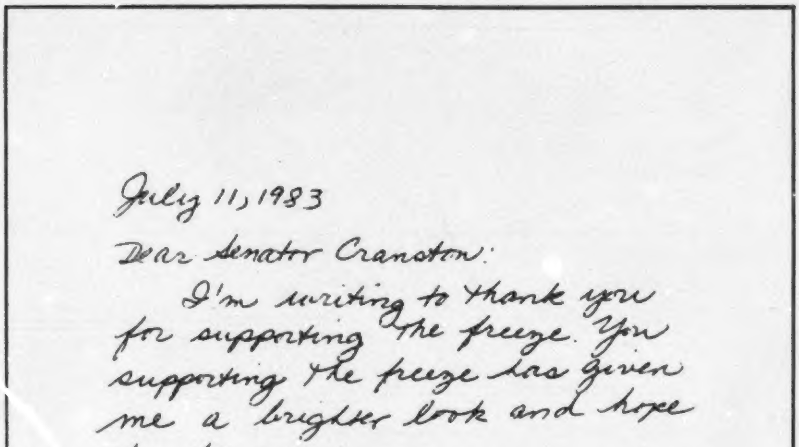
> ***"I liked working with the Freeze. We tabled at the supermarket to sell buttons and get people to sign cards to send to senators. The most joy I got out of working with the peace movement, though, was that I found out a lot of other people are working for the same thing. Some people would walk by and get a pamphlet and thank us for doing this work."***
>
> **— Debra Britt, 15**

A night letter costs slightly more than a "public opinion message," and you get only 15 words. The night letter is delivered the next morning.

Writing to Newspapers

The easiest way to voice your opinion in your local newspaper is by writing a letter to the editor. Anyone can write a letter, and many (but not all) of the letters the paper receives are published. Your letter to the editor can help build public support for your viewpoint.

Your letter to your representative about supporting the Nuclear Freeze has impact. But just think about the impact if there were 500 or 1,000 or 10,000 letters saying the same thing? A letter to the editor can inform people and give them the encouragement necessary to get involved themselves.



July 11, 1983

Dear Senator Cranston:

I'm writing to thank you for supporting the freeze. You supporting the freeze has given me a brighter look and hope for tomorrow.

Knowing that someday the freeze might put an end to the arms race is great. I thank you so much for giving me a brighter look for tomorrow.

Yours sincerely,
Debra Britt
15 years old
Oakland, California

Not all letters written to the editor get published. Your chances of being published will increase if your letter:

- Is timely and refers to a controversial issue.
- Refers to an item recently in the newspaper.
- Uses short words, short sentences, short paragraphs and deals with one issue.
- Is legible, double-spaced and only on one side of the page for easy editing.

Don't forget to sign the letter and include your address and daytime phone. They won't print your address or phone number in the paper, but they need it for their files.

If a number of your letters never appear in the paper, contact the editor to find out why. Maybe you have overlooked something in the way your letters were written – maybe you didn't sign them or include your address. If one or two letters don't appear don't give up, just keep writing. But if you write 20 letters and not one is ever printed, then try to find out the problem.

What's important to remember about writing letters to the editor is that it can be a very effective way to reach many, many people, and you just might get some of those people to become active.

Legislative Alerts: Resource List

Council for a Liveable World
100 Maryland Ave. N.E.
Washington, D.C. 20002

SANE
711 G Street, SE
Washington, D.C. 20003

Coalition for a New Foreign
and Military Policy
120 Maryland Avenue N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20002

Nuclear Arms Control HOTLINE:
(202) 543-0006
Every week a new message is recorded about upcoming votes or actions in Congress that pertain to nuclear arms control.

Zafra Epstein, 13

I'd known generally about nuclear bombs and the arms race, but didn't get particularly involved or concerned until I read in the school bulletin that a group of kids would be getting together at lunch to talk about it. I was really curious. It was the first time I'd seen kids doing anything political at school. So I went and started learning a lot. I was angry and scared – angry that the government could actually take so much away from us that we need and spend it on bombs – my math book was a 1965 edition because the school couldn't buy new books!

The school group kept meeting at lunch times and we decided to become part of the June 20th blockade at Livermore nuclear labs where nuclear weapons are designed. I got arrested at Livermore along with a group of 74 other kids for sitting down in the road and blocking traffic, the people trying to go to work at the labs. It was one of the greatest experiences of my life.

I try to do everything I can think of to stop the arms race. I think of it all the time . . . when I'm shopping I pay attention to which company's products I buy to be sure I don't support any companies which make nuclear weapons. When I ride the bus I think about actions I could plan. This is my life now. I'm giving my life to this fight to end the arms race. I don't know how I'll be able to focus on my schoolwork, because this just consumes me.

There are a lot of plans I have now . . . I'm going to get arrested at the next Livermore blockade, but I realize I couldn't get arrested every time, at every action. Then I start thinking . . . am I doing enough? If I don't get arrested each time, am I inadequate? Civil disobedience feels like the most powerful thing I have ever done. Sitting in the road I think we touched a lot of people's lives – the cops knew, the people who couldn't get in to work at the labs knew, the TV audience knew that kids were willing to put their bodies on the line because we care so much. But I think everything counts, getting arrested isn't everything. Sometimes people say to me, "Kids shouldn't be worrying about these kinds of things." They are right in a way, we shouldn't have to be worrying, but do we have a choice? What we're fighting for is that no other generation has to worry. I'm willing to give up a lot to see that no one has to worry anymore.

I talk to people every chance I can get, and at school I have a reputation for being really into nuclear issues and people think its all I ever think about. When they sign my yearbook, it's always about nukes. I want other kids to understand the facts, and that this could really happen, and that there has to be a public outcry. How can you live and know it's going on and not get involved? If someone knows their life is in danger, how can they not do something? It really agitates me that kids can know about it and not get active. Some of them say, "Yeah, sure, I agree," but then they don't do anything. Others kind of tolerate me talking about it. They just don't want to get involved. I didn't either for a long time, so I guess I can understand it – that hesitation. But the people I've met since I got involved are the most wonderful people in the world.

When I think about nuclear war, the worst part for me is thinking I might be warned. It would be horrible to know it was coming and feeling totally helpless. I don't want to know and I don't want to survive. My parents, friends, cats, everything familiar would be gone. I have always had a house and food and love – I can't really relate to everything being gone and so grotesque and so much death all at once.

I think both the Soviets and the U.S. are very dangerous governments building up very dangerous weapons. I don't care who is ahead, because if there is a nuclear war we'll all be wiped out. We're past the point of it making any sense who is ahead. I'd rather live in the United States and this is my home, and here we have the right to speak out and protest. But sometimes I think even though we're allowed to protest, no one listens. Our government is too far beyond our control or even our voices anymore. I even think our government should unilaterally control our part of the arms race. If the Soviets want to blow us up, they can do it – I don't feel any obligation to take them with us.

There's the United Nations, and arms control and stuff, but the governments don't really seem to want them to work. I have trouble believing in them. Arms control talks seem like a coverup while more and more bombs are being built. But I guess if there is enough outcry, they have to take it seriously sometime.

I don't think there is any single most effective way to stop this craziness. Everyone has their own way. When people learn about the arms race and get active, each one finds something to do that feels right to them. It all adds up, every little thing we do touches something. Putting your body on the line may be more dramatic or get more attention, but it's not necessarily more effective than some smaller or quieter things. Whatever people do is good.

My head is full of plans. I think I will take part in more civil disobedience actions this year. I need to start another group at school and recruit more kids. I want to start working with the teachers at school to get them to teach stuff in their classes. And I'll go to all the demonstration and rallies I can. It always makes me feel good, that maybe by my being there, that one extra person can mean something.

I don't think one negotiation between Reagan and Andropov, or a single big United Nations action will make everything okay. It's going to be a long hard struggle, and a lot of people will have to get involved. I don't see the governments doing it by themselves. So our only hope is people being willing to work hard.

Influencing The Media in Your Community

> ***"I don't think there is any single most effective way to stop this craziness. Everyone has their own way. When people learn about the arms race and get active, each one finds something to do that feels right to them – wearing buttons, praying, writing letters, getting arrested, demonstrating. It all adds up, every little thing we do touches someone. Putting your body on the line may be more dramatic or get more attention in the media, but it's not necessarily more effective than some smaller or quiet things that touch people. Whatever people do is good. But everyone has to do something."***
>
> **— Zafra Epstein**
> 13

All media (television, radio, newspapers, magazines) pay attention to nuclear issues these days. They are concerned about how the threat of nuclear war affects young people. This interest offers you opportunities for media coverage.

Contact local radio and television producers and suggest a show or series of shows interviewing young people about the arms race. Or suggest they cover an "action" planned by young people, such as a march. If you, your class or a group in which you are involved hold an event, the media might cover it.

The media generally want to show people with differing, if not opposing points of view. You might be more persuasive if you offer reporters a list of young people or organizations with views that differ from yours. Whether or not you actually provide such a list, you should be aware of the range of opinions on this issue, as reporters may ask you about your feelings on these differing viewpoints.

To initiate contact with a television or radio station or newspaper:

1) Write and distribute a press release announcing your event and anything about it that will be interesting to the media. If the event is newsworthy and the press release makes it sound interesting, there is a good chance they will cover the event. Remember, a press release should "grab" the reader, and quickly convey the who, what, when, where and how of the story. There is an example of a press release in the appendix.

2) Write a letter to a program producer, director or announcer/reporter. Identify yourself, describe your concerns, what you are doing, etc. Say you think it is important that the public know what young people think about nuclear issues, and offer to help them put together a show or story.

3) Call or go to a station, ask to talk with the news or special features producer, and tell him or her what you have in mind. Remember, whenever you deal with the media, the biggest job you have in getting news coverage is to convince them that what you are doing or saying is of interest to many of their viewers, listeners or readers. In other words, YOU ARE NEWS!

We Should Remember

WE SHOULD REMEMBER
All the times before
WE SHOULD REMEMBER
The massive death of
The times before
WE SHOULD REMEMBER
How others have felt
and how we would feel
HOW WOULD YOU FEEL
Complete and total darkness
HOW WOULD YOU FEEL
A still quietness
And your whole family . . .
Dead
HOW WOULD YOU FEEL
Your brother, sister
Child, dog
Your whole world
Demolished
Worse than any
Epidemic, sickness,
Earthquake, volcano
HOW WOULD YOU FEEL

WE MUST REMEMBER AND STOP IT.

STOP THE ARMS RACE.

by Jeannette Gross, 13

The "Art" of Expressing Yourself

People's concerns, fears or determination to do something about the nuclear threat can be expressed in powerful ways that get others to think about the issue. Artwork, theater, songs, poetry all are ways to communicate and help build a movement.

"Watch out for a movement that sings." That old expression is still true today. Throughout history, songs have been able to stir up deep feelings about issues, give courage to those who are facing a hard struggle, provide groups with a feeling of solidarity, and soothe and comfort people in fear. Think about how much energy is created by your favorite band in concerts. That same kind of energy can be channelled for political or moral purposes such as reducing the threat of nuclear war. Learning and singing political songs in the company of others is a moving way to enjoy the struggle for social change. (There is a list of records and songbooks with peace songs at the end of this chapter.)

Another way to express feelings about nuclear war is through drawings and graphics. At every demonstration people are carrying signs very artistically made. Original drawings are always needed for peace organization newsletters. Other people have used their talents to draw political cartoons for their school newspaper or bulletin boards. Still others have designed artwork to be screened onto T-shirts. There are numerous possibilities.

Skits, plays and street theater can very effectively get across your feelings about nuclear war. Theatre groups have been formed to try to educate others about nuclear issues. Some demonstrators dress in costume and do short skits along march routes. Here are some examples of what young people have done with drama.

- Dressed up as waitresses and waiters and walked around at lunch time offering people photos of mushroom clouds served on plates saying, "Isn't this what you ordered? You paid for it!" Then they handed out information on the U.S. defense budget.
- At the regular monthly noontime test of the air raid siren, young people in one school dressed up in fake bloody clothes and as skeletons and staged a "die-in," and handed out information about the effects of nuclear explosions.

For others, writing is the best way to express their feelings about the nuclear threat. If you enjoy writing poems, journals, essays and want to share your writing, submit them to peace organizations that have newsletters, poetry magazines, school newspapers, or any other publications that publish free-lance work.

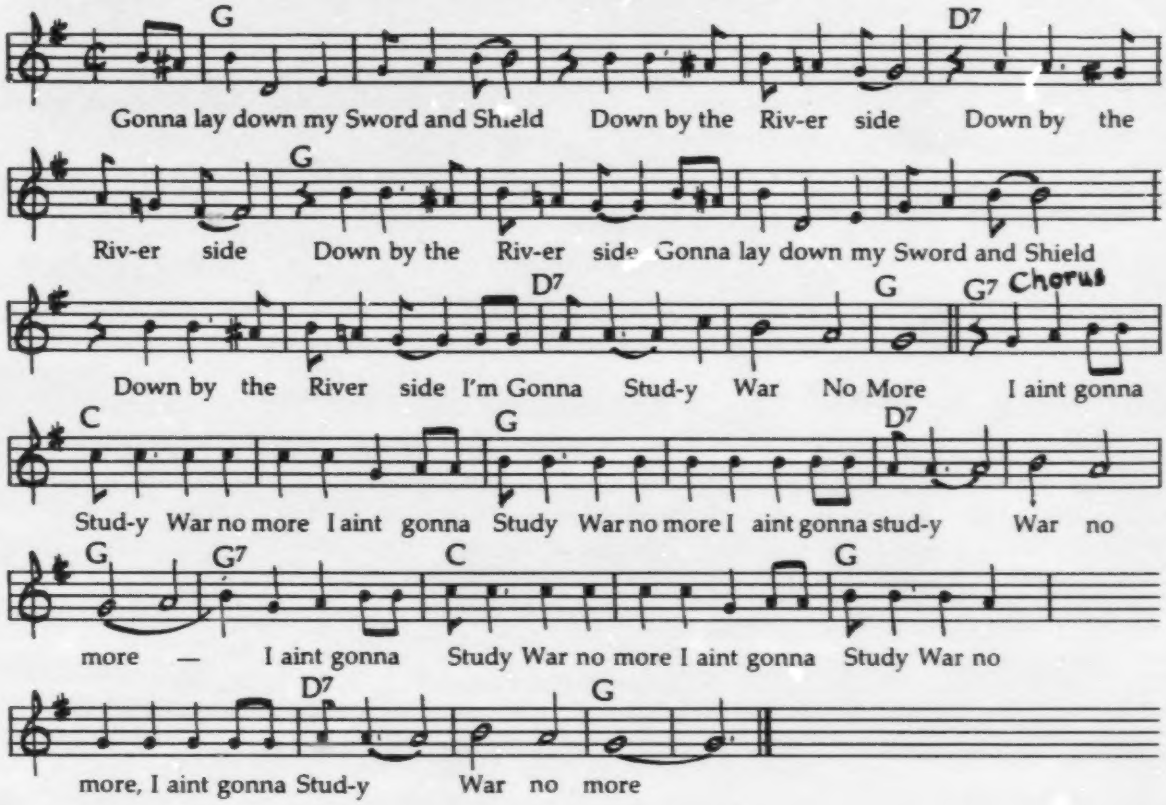
Whichever form of expression you choose, share it so it educates others and moves them to think about the issues and become active themselves.

OVER
THERE'S A
NOT

Debra Britt's hand-painted t-shirt expresses her hopes for a peaceful world

Down By the Riverside

Down By The Riverside is a traditional peace song sung often at marches, rallies and peace gatherings.


G
D7
Gonna lay down my Sword and Shield Down by the Riv-er side Down by the
G
Riv-er side Down by the Riv-er side Gonna lay down my Sword and Shield
D7
G
G7
Chorus
Down by the River side I'm Gonna Stud-y War No More I aint gonna
C
G
D7
Stud-y War no more I aint gonna Study War no more I aint gonna stud-y War no
G
G7
C
G
more — I aint gonna Study War no more I aint gonna Study War no
D7
G
more, I aint gonna Stud-y War no more

2. Gonna lay down that atom bomb
3. Gonna join hands around the world
4. Gonna find ways to walk in peace
5. Gonna lay down my sword and shield.

Records of Anti-Nuclear Songs

Life in the European Theater, Elektra Records. This includes songs by The Jam, The Clash, and Peter Gabriel, among others.

Atomic Cafe, Rounder Records. Includes many historical peace and anti-nuclear groups and songs.

Pink Floyd The Final Cut: Requiem for Post-War Dreams, Columbia Records.

Out of the Darkness: Songs for Survival, Fire on the Mountain. 6459 Irwin Court, Oakland CA 94609. A collection of songs by current artists including Holly Near, Sweet Honey in the Rock, Jesse Colin Young and others.

No Nukes: Nuclear Power No Thanks, Plane (England). Songs with Roy Bailey, Leon Russellson, Frankie Armstrong.

Songbooks

Winds of the People, distributed by Sassafras, 158 Cliff Street, Norwich, Conn 06360, 1983

Lift Every Voice, ed. Irwin Silber, Oak Publication, New York

Songs That Changed the World, ed. Wanda Willson Whitman, Crown Publishers, 1969

Jobs and Work

Much of the U.S. scientific and engineering community is involved in developing weapons, and many corporations produce those weapons. Most of the work is done either by highly trained people or unionized blue-collar workers. It might be helpful for you to consider how you feel about working in a defense-related job now, before you're out in the work world.

There is no one company that makes our nuclear weapons. One firm works on the overall design. Another may build the electronic parts, while another makes the special screws and hardware. More than 40 major U.S. companies are involved in building nuclear weapons. A list of the companies and their role in building weapons can be obtained from an organization called NARMIC, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102.

Your decision about where you work and the company's relation to peace or war is personal. You must decide for yourself how you feel about helping to build nuclear weapons. Do you think the people who make the screws for weapons or assemble the electronic sections are in any way responsible for the possible use of those weapons? Would good pay make up for any discomfort you might feel about what you're building? You must decide for yourself, though it may be helpful to talk about it with people who currently work in these positions, and others who either quit or decided not to work in defense.

If, after thinking over the issues carefully, you decide you don't want to work in any industry that, in your opinion, hampers the chances of peace, you have several options. One step would be to do research while you're still in high school, exploring companies in your area to learn if they do defense-related work. Don't wait until you have a job, car payments, rent, and then decide that where you work runs against your moral principles. It's much harder to leave a job when you have financial responsibilities than to do your homework before you job hunt, and apply for work only at places you know you'll feel good about.

Though we all can do a great deal to prevent nuclear war, regardless of our job or where we work, there are some people whose work is related to creating a peaceful world. You may want to consider such work now while you're still trying to find your way into the world of work. Those of you interested in going to college, might consider studying in a field related to international understanding – languages (for translation, interpreting), international studies, peace or world order studies. Those of you willing and able to take jobs that do not pay well might consider working for peace and disarmament organizations. People in those jobs generally have volunteer experience organizing around peace issues, some familiarity or experience with running offices, and are fully committed to the issue.

You may not feel you can do strictly non-defense-related work, if defense fields are where the jobs are. This does not mean that you have to give up trying to make the world more peaceful and less militaristic. Regardless of the job you get, your work relationships, workplaces and unions are good places to try to educate and involve others in efforts to prevent nuclear war.

Careers in Peace

If you have decided you want to work in an industry in your area that is not involved in defense, or more specifically an organization that is involved in peace activities, contact your high school counselor. Most schools have "career days." If you talk to a counselor well in advance of the event, he or she will be able to research industries or businesses in your area that do peace work, and invite them to participate in career day.

> *"Unconditional war can no longer lead to unconditional victory. It can no longer serve to settle disputes. It can no longer be of concern to great powers alone. For a nuclear disaster, spread by winds, and waters, and fear, could well engulf the great and the small, the rich and the poor, the committed and the uncommitted alike. Mankind must put an end to war or war will put an end to mankind."*
>
> **— President John F. Kennedy**
> **September 25, 1961**

Max Friedman, 16

I became active on anti-nuclear issues about two years ago. I saw "The Last Epidemic" on public television. I remember feeling, "NO, I can't allow this to happen," and I should do everything I can to stop it.

Then a teacher at school talked with me about starting an anti-nuclear group at school. I started Students for Survival (SOS). We showed films, had discussions, speakers, and tried to talk about every aspect of the nuclear issue. Organizing at school was limited. Whenever we had activities people came, but most of them weren't moved to action – that was really disappointing. The first major activity SOS did was to organize a group of kids to go to the June 12th anti-nuclear march in San Francisco. Nine days later I was arrested for the first time at Livermore Nuclear Weapons laboratory.

When I think about the possibility of nuclear war, usually it moves me to more protest and to work harder, but once in awhile it genuinely scares the shit out of me and I'm reduced to a quivering heap of fear for a few moments. The intellectual response usually comes up when I'm doing my work and then I'm motivated to work even harder. The gut level, emotional feelings about the possibility of nuclear war comes up when I'm having a great time and I realize it could all just blow up – then I feel terror and it affects my breathing.

Becoming active has really changed my life. It's affected the people I associate with, what I think, what I do, the hours I keep. I spend most of my time going to meetings – endless meetings – talking to people about the issue, going to demonstrations, reading, going to lectures, and organizing at school. I do it because it's vital to our planet and also because the most interesting people in the world are involved in politics, and the nicest of those are on the left. The reason people get involved in this issue is that they love life, care about people, and are non-apathetic about life. Those same qualities make people fun to be with in every way.

I don't believe I could survive a nuclear war, and I don't want to anyway. When I think about the bomb actually dropping, the scariest part is the incredible loss: Loss of people, wasted life –not only the useless death, but also the life I had lived before the bomb dropped. All the studying, and learning and growing I had done, just so I would die a cultivated, wiser person . . . it would seem absurd and tragic.

I believe everyone should be told about the arms race and its impacts on our lives now and in the future. I try to talk to people all the time about the issues. My hobby, you might say, is talking to people who don't want to hear it – including people who are pro-nuclear, kids, or strangers. Talking to people sometimes helps – sometimes they change their minds, and even get involved themselves in anti-nuclear work; when that happens, it's great. Sometimes people don't change or they walk away.

Anyone who is going to try to organize in schools should understand that sometimes you get rejected. But as long as you keep going, keep talking, there is still a chance you might do some good. If you quit, there's no way to accomplish anything. I just try to remember that it's not me they're rejecting, they're rejecting the issue, and it makes me want to work harder.

The only way our country will be secure is to eliminate boundaries. I think it's impossible to find peaceful, non-violent ways to resolve issues between countries the way things are now. Maybe something like bio-regions would work. A world government isn't the solution because it could too easily produce totalitarianism.

The whole problem of arms control is, I believe, ridiculous. It's a public relations problem. Arms control means that the arms race can continue as long as it is limited or controlled. That's really no solution. Disarmament is another issue, and something I believe in strongly. The only way disarmament will come about, though, is through the formation of a different kind of economic system. Right now, people with the power to take away the weapons are the same people who are getting rich off their production. We need a different, reformed system for disarmament to ever really work.

I think any action is worth doing. Demonstrations make me feel happy and exhilarated. People focus on love of life rather than death or fear. My friend Amy Bombse says it best: "There's no feeling like being in the middle of 10,000 people who agree." It's great.

In Closing

Now you've got a better idea of what the arms race is, how it got started, and why it is so dangerous to our planet. You've also read about some of the different approaches people are taking to end the arms race. You've read ways to voice your opinion and to whom, the function of art in a political movement, and you've gained some understanding of how to choose a job based on your political beliefs.

The task for us all is to speak out and work together toward the creation of peace on our planet. We *can* do it. Our future is at stake.

Glossary

A-BOMB: Atom bomb, a nuclear weapon like the ones dropped on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

ABM: Anti-Ballistic Missile, a system of missiles, radar and other equipment that intercept and destroy enemy missiles.

BALLISTIC MISSILE: A missile containing a rocket and warhead that is "boosted" through the air to its target.

CIVIL DEFENSE: Government and community plans for saving lives in case of disaster, including nuclear attack.

COMPROMISE: Settlement of a conflict by each side giving up something.

CRUISE: Cruise missile, a pilotless aircraft that can strike distant targets and is guided by its own computers. It flies low enough so it can't be detected by radar. These new U.S. missiles are a major issue in arms control now.

COUNTERFORCE: The ability to destroy enemy military forces.

DELIVERY: The act of getting a weapon to its target by any means (missiles, bomber, submarine, etc.).

DETERRENCE: Prevention. The United States and Soviet Union have the ability to destroy each other. According to the theory of deterrence, they won't attack because each knows the other could strike back and cause "unacceptable" damage.

ESCALATION: Adding a level of damage or threat; an increasing spiral of violence in a conflict.

FALLOUT: Radioactive dust that falls to the earth after nuclear bombs explode. Fallout has serious health consequences and may cause death.

FIREBALL: The very hot (10 million degrees Fahrenheit) center of a nuclear explosion.

FIREBREAK: A cleared area cut in the path of a raging fire to contain it. An expression that refers to ways to prevent nuclear war such as arms control or improved international relationships.

FIRST STRIKE: An attack with nuclear weapons before the other country has attacked.

GROUND ZERO: The center of the target where a nuclear weapon explodes.

INTERCONTINENTAL BALLISTIC MISSILE (ICBM): A ballistic missile with a range of 4,000 miles or more, capable of crossing an ocean. Modern ICBMs can travel 9,000 miles and reach their target in only 30 minutes.

KILOTON: Explosive force equal to 1,000 tons of TNT. The bomb dropped on Hiroshima was approximately 13 kilotons.

LAUNCH ON WARNING: The policy of launching nuclear missiles in response to warning systems only, without verification that an enemy attack has actually been mounted.

LIMITED NUCLEAR WAR: A belief that a nuclear war's damage could be limited to just one area of the world or a country, or that the war could be limited to just one strike without escalating into a major exchange of nuclear weapons.

MUTUAL ASSURED DESTRUCTION (MAD): Theory that the two major nuclear powers wouldn't attack each other because they know that it would destroy both countries.

MEGATON: Explosive force equal to 1 million tons of TNT.

MILITARY INDUSTRIAL COMPLEX: The United States defense industry and its relationship to the military in supporting the development and production of new weapon systems.

MISSILE: A weapon designed to be thrown or shot. Modern missiles have internal power to get to targets.

NUCLEAR WEAPON: A weapon that gets its explosive power from splitting the nucleus of an atom, which makes it far more powerful than other kinds of bombs.

NEGOTIATION: Exchanging viewpoints and concerns in order to bargain or arrive at an agreement between conflicting groups.

OVERKILL: A term used to measure the impact of nuclear weapons. Overkill refers to the ability of each nuclear country to kill more than the total population in the other country.

PROLIFERATION: The spread of nuclear weapons, usually in nations that are developing or purchasing them for the first time.

PROPAGANDA: Words or acts that express opinions as if they were facts, or that use emotional techniques to change the opinions of others.

NUCLEAR FREEZE: A stop to the building, testing or setting up of nuclear weapons.

SALT TREATY: Strategic Arms Limitation Talks – a series of negotiations between the United States and Soviet Union that began in 1969 to try to limit and reduce nuclear arms. SALT I resulted in the ABM Treaty of 1972. SALT II was signed by both countries in 1979, but was not approved by the U.S. Senate.

VERIFICATION: The process of determining compliance with arms control agreements.

Chronology of U.S.–U.S.S.R. Relations

1917: A civil war – the Russian Revolution – overturned the tsar (king) and established a Communist government.

1920: The United States, Britain, France, Japan and 14 other countries sent troops into Russia to try to overthrow the Communist government.

1929: Economic depression worldwide. In the United States, millions were unemployed. Some people looked for ways to organize to take care of the unemployed and homeless, others feared this kind of organizing represented a move toward communism, and might result in a revolution in this country. People suspected of being Communists in the United States were jailed or deported (many were immigrants).

1930s: Hitler rose to power in Germany. The United States officially recognized the Soviet Union as a legitimate government and set up diplomatic relations.

1939: Hitler's army invaded Poland.

1939: Japan, having already conquered much of China, invaded Indochina.

1941: Germany invaded Soviet Union. United States extended aid to Soviet Union.

1941: Japanese surprise attack on U.S. Navy at Pearl Harbor, Hawaii. United States declared war on Japan. Germany and Italy declared war on United States.

1945: Soviet Union agreed to enter war on the side of America against Japan within three months after Germany surrenders.

1945: United States dropped atomic bombs on Japanese cities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki.

1945: Germany surrendered, war in Europe ended. The United States and Soviet Union met to divide up territory conquered in war. A "buffer zone" along Soviet borders was established by annexing parts of Eastern Europe to the Soviet Union.

1945: The United Nations was established amid hopes that the nations of the world could avoid war forever.

1940s-50s: Soviet Premier Joseph Stalin initiated a "reign of terror," killing tens of millions of Soviet citizens thought to be threats to his rule.

1949: United States formed an alliance – the North Atlantic Treaty Organization – with England, France, Germany, Italy and Spain. The NATO allies pledged to act together against an attack on any one of the countries.

1949: The Soviet Union tested its first atomic bomb.

1950s: Within the United States, an active campaign was mounted against people suspected of being Communists or "sympathizers." During the so-called McCarthy era, many people lost their jobs and were jailed. Julius and Ethel Rosenberg were executed for allegedly giving atomic bomb secrets to the Russians.

1952: England exploded its first atomic bomb.

1954: U.S. troops intervened in Iran to support the Shah of Iran and prevent revolutionary influence.

1954: United States intervened militarily in Guatemala to stop revolution.

1954: United States placed nuclear weapons in NATO countries and pointed them at the Soviet Union.

1955: Soviet Union entered into a Warsaw Pact Alliance with Eastern European countries, pledging mutual assistance if any one of them was attacked.

1956: United States sent troops into Lebanon to prevent rise of Communist influence.

1956: Soviet Union invaded Hungary to crush resistance to Communist control.

1957: Soviet Union placed tactical nuclear weapons in Europe.

1960: U.S. military intervened in Laos and the Congo.

1960s: United States sent troops to South Vietnam to prevent rise of communism, beginning a 12-year war with North Vietnam.

1961: President John F. Kennedy made a public threat to use nuclear weapons in Berlin during the Berlin Wall crisis.

1962: The Cuban Missile Crisis. United States found evidence that the Soviets were shipping nuclear weapons to install in Cuba, 90 miles of the U.S. coast. President Kennedy ordered the Soviets to remove their missiles and turn their ships around or face a nuclear confrontation. The Soviets removed the missiles.

1963: A treaty established a "hotline" between the two superpowers to give their leaders a means of direct communication in case of a nuclear crisis.

1964: China exploded its first atomic bomb.

1968: Soviet Union invaded Czechoslovakia to maintain control of its Communist government.

1972: SALT I treaty was signed limiting deployment of anti-ballistic missile systems, intercontinental ballistic missiles, and submarine-launched ballistic missiles. This was a major arms control agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States.

1972: China broke diplomatic ties with Russia. The United States developed trade agreements with China and officially recognized its government.

1974: SALT II agreement was developed, furthering arms control between the two superpowers, but the U.S. Congress did not ratify the treaty.

1980: Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan to support Communist forces.

1980: Labor unrest in Poland resulted in the formation of Solidarity, a movement of 10 million people committed to political and economic reforms of the Communist state.

1981: Under great pressure from the Soviet Union, the Communist government of Poland declared martial law and cracked down on Solidarity. Thousands of activists are imprisoned.

1983: Soviet Union shot down Korean passenger plane that invaded Soviet airspace, killing more than 270 people. United States responded by calling the act "barbarous." Soviets say they had to protect their airspace and that they thought the plane was on a spy mission for United States.

1983: The United States invaded Grenada, deposing the independent Marxist government there, and expelled Cuban and Soviet personnel from the island. President Ronald Reagan justified the invasion as a necessary response to the Soviet threat to gain influence in America's "backyard."

Arms Control and Disarmament—Key Dates

In an attempt to control the nuclear arms race, there have been a number of bilateral (between the United States and Soviet Union) and multilateral (involving several states) arms control and disarmament agreements. These were the most important.

1959: **Antarctic Treaty** – Declared the Antarctic a place for exclusively peaceful uses. It prohibited all military activities within the area, including developing and testing nuclear weapons.

1963: **'Hotline' Agreement** – Established direct telegraph-teleprinter links between the United States and the Soviet Union for use in an emergency.

1963: **Partial Test Ban Treaty** – Prohibited the testing of nuclear weapons in the atmosphere, outer space and underwater.

1967: **Outer-Space Treaty** – Prohibited placing nuclear weapons in orbit, in space or on celestial bodies such as the moon.

1967: **Treaty of Tlatelolco** – Declared Latin America to be a military denuclearized zone.

1968: **Non-Proliferation Treaty** – Prohibited the transfer of nuclear weapons and aimed to halt the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

1971: **Sea Bed Treaty** – Prohibited the placing of nuclear weapons on fixed sites on or under the sea bed.

1971: **'Hotline' Modernization Agreement** – Improved emergency communication links between the United States and Soviet Union – including the provision of a satellite communication system.

1971: **Nuclear Accidents Agreement** – Provided measures to reduce the risk of nuclear war, including safeguards against the accidental use of nuclear weapons.

1972: **SALT I ABM (Anti-Ballistic Missile) Treaty** – Limited the deployment of ABM systems to two sites in the United States and Soviet Union.

1972: **SALT I Interim Agreement** – Provided a 5-year moratorium on the aggregate numbers of fixed land-based ICBMs and SLBMs.

1974: **ABM Protocol** – Limited the deployment of anti-ballistic missiles to one site in the United States and Soviet Union.

1979: **SALT II** – Instituted equal ceilings for the numbers of strategic bombers and missiles, with sub-limits on certain categories of weapons. (SALT II has not been ratified).

Sample Press Release

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE Friday, September 16, 1983

For information, contact:
Melinda Moore or Laurie Olsen
Citizens Policy Center, 839-9037

Bay Area Teen-ager to Testify in
Congress About Nuclear Fears

"I think about the bomb almost every day," says 16-year-old Ursell Austin of Oakland. "I wouldn't want to die that way -- I wouldn't even want my enemies to die that way."

Armed with her own testimony and carrying statements from other Bay Area youth, Ursell will travel to Washington, D.C., to tell the House Select Committee on Children, Youth and Families how frightening it is "to live with the possibility that you might never get a chance to grow up." The committee, chaired by Rep. George Miller (D-Calif.), is holding hearings on the effect of living in a nuclear age on our children and youth.

Ursell remembers being upset and horrified while she watched a TV program about the bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, her first introduction to the reality of nuclear war. She doesn't recall her teachers in school ever mentioning the arms race or discussing nuclear issues. Then, last summer, Ursell participated in a program for teen-agers to help them learn more about the nuclear threat.

Ten Bay Area youth, 12 to 17, spent the summer researching nuclear issues, interviewing people on the street and politicians and military personnel for their opinions, and learning more about how to get involved in the nuclear debate. The program was sponsored by the Citizens Policy Center, an 8-year-old non-profit organization that helps young people become active participants in identifying and solving problems in the major institutions that affect their lives.

Ursell, whose trip to Washington is made possible by contributions through the Citizens Policy Center, says she feels honored that she was chosen to represent young people's perspective on the arms race.

"I can't believe I actually have the opportunity to tell the politicians how I really feel," she says. "Thinking about testifying, I get nervous, but then I remember that in a nuclear war, the politicians and their children will die, too, and that helps me remember that I have something important to tell them. I hope they open their eyes and their minds and change before it's too late for us."

# # #

Advocacy and Resource Organizations

Abalone Alliance, 944 Market St., #307, San Francisco, CA 94102

American Friends Service Committee, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102

American Security Council, "Peace Through Strength," 499 South Capitol Ave., Washington, D.C. 20003

Arms Control Association, 11 Dupont Circle NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, publishes *Arms Control Today* newsletter

Campaign Against Nuclear War, 122 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20003

Center for Defense Information, 303 Capitol Gallery West, 600 Maryland Ave. SW, Washington, D.C. 20024, publishes *Defense Monitor*

Center for Peaceful Change, Consortium on Peace Research, Education & Development, Kent State University, Kent, OH 44242

Center for United Nations Reform, 600 Valley Road, Wayne, NJ 07470

Children's Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, c/o Hannah Robin, Box 550, R.D. #1, Plainfield, VT 05667

Children's Creative Response to Conflict, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960

Children's Defense Fund, 1520 New Hampshire Ave. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036, lobbying and research on effects of government policies on lives of children

Children's Disarmament Network, c/o Marty Dutcher, 3406 Macomb St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016

Children's Peace Committee, c/o Monique Grodzki, 3430 78th St., Jackson Heights, New York, NY 11372

Clergy and Laity Concerned, 198 Broadway, New York, NY 10038, an interfaith organization on peace and justice issues

Coalition for a New Foreign & Military Policy, 120 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

Committee Against Registration & the Draft, 245 Second St., Washington, D.C. 20002, or 201 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Suite 111, Washington, D.C. 20002

Common Cause, 2030 M St., Washington, D.C. 20036

Council on Economic Priorities, 84 Fifth Ave., New York, NY 10011, information on economic impact of military spending

Council for a Livable World, 11 Beacon St., Boston, MA 02108

Creative Initiative, 222 High St., Palo Alto, CA 94301

Disarmament Resource Center, 942 Market St. Room 708, San Francisco, CA 94102, resource center and clearinghouse for Northern California, publishes calendar of events

Education Foundation for Nuclear Science, 5801 S. Kenwood, Chicago, IL 60637

Educators for Social Responsibility, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139

Employment Research Associates, 400 S. Washington Ave., Lansing, MI 48933, research on employment and military spending

Federation of American Scientists, Nuclear War Education Project, 307 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, publications on arms control and disarmament

Fellowship of Reconciliation, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, pacifist organization committed to nonviolent change, resource information available

Global Education Association, 552 Park Ave., East Orange, NJ 07017

Global Perspectives in Education, 218 E 18th St., New York, NY 10003

Golden Gate Alliance, Home Activist Packet, 2735 Franklin St., San Francisco, CA 94123

Greenpeace International, 1700 Connecticut Ave. NW #305, Washington, D.C. 20009

Ground Zero, 806 15th St. NW Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20005

Hiroshima/Nagasaki Memorial Collection, Wilmington College, Peace Resource Center, Pyle Center, Box 1183, Wilmington, OH 45177

Impact, 110 Maryland Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002, sends out action alerts, memos every month ($7.50 per month)

Institute for Defense & Disarmament Studies, 251 Harvard St., Brookline, MA 02146

Institute for Peace & Justice, 4144 Lindell Blvd. #400, St. Louis, MO 63108

Institute for Policy Studies, 1901 Q St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009

Institute for World Order, 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017

Interhelp, 330 Ellis St. #505, San Francisco, CA 94102

Jewish Peace Fellowship, Box 271, Nyack, NY 10960, jewish organization committed to nonviolent social activism, newsletter *Shalom*

Jobs With Peace, 2940 16th St. Suite B-1, San Francisco, CA 94103, organizing packet available

Media Network-Guide to Disarmament, 208 W 13th St., New York, NY 10011

Mid-Peninsula Conversion Project, 222 C View St., Mountain View, CA, publishes *Plowshares* newspaper ($6/year)

Mobilization for Survival, 48 St. Marks Pl., New York, NY 10003, coalition of groups focused on nuclear weapons, arms race and need to fund human needs

NARMIC, National Action Research on the Military Industrial Complex, 1501 Cherry St., Philadelphia, PA 19102

National Clearinghouse, Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign, 4144 Lindell Blvd. Suite 404, St. Louis, MO 63108

National Interreligious Service Board for Conscientious Objectors, 550 Washington Blvd., Washington, D.C. 20005

Nuclear Times, 298 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10001

New Manhattan Project, 15 Rutherford Pl., New York, NY 10003

Norwich Peace Center, Box 283, Norwich, VT 05055

Nuclear Film Forum, c/o David Brown, 2114 Golden Gate Ave., San Francisco, CA 94118

Nuclear Information & Resource Center, 1346 Connecticut Ave. NW, Fourth Floor, Washington, D.C. 20036

Nuclear War Graphics Project, 100 Nevada St., Northfield, MN 55057

Parenting in a Nuclear Age, c/o 6501 Telegraph Ave., Oakland, CA 94609

Parents for Peace, 140 W State St., Ithaca, NY 14850

Peacelinks, 723½ 8th St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003

People to People International, 2440 Pershing Rd. Suite G-30, Kansas City, MO 64108, has ambassador program, sends students to other countries for the summer

Physicians for Social Responsibility, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139, or 56 N. Beacon St., Watertown, MA 02172

Pugwash, International Students, 305 Massachusetts Ave. NE, Washington, D.C. 20002

Riverside Church Disarmament Program, 490 Riverside Dr., New York, NY 10115, information and resources available

S.A.N.E., 711 G St. SE, Washington, D.C. 20003, national education and lobbying organization, has action alerts and newsletter

Soviet-U.S. Children's Letter Exchange, c/o Mr. Duzhev, Cultural Attache, Embassy of U.S.S.R., 1125 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036

STOP (Students and Teachers Organization to Prevent Nuclear War), Box 232, Northfield, MA 01360, national organization of students and teachers, publishes newsletter focusing on high school projects and youth groups

Survival Education Fund, Inc., 853 Broadway, Room 2109, New York, NY 10003
Traprock Peace Center, Woolman Hill, Keets Rd., Deerfield, MA 01342, publishes excellent flip charts on all aspects of military spending and the arms race
Union of Concerned Scientists, 1384 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02238
United Nations Children's Fund (UNICEF), 866 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10001
United Nations Information Association, 1550 Shattuck, 2nd Floor Co-op, Berkeley, CA 94709 (local West Coast address)
Waking Up in the Nuclear Age, P.O. Box 23, Fort Mason Center, San Francisco, CA 94123
War Resisters League, 339 Lafayette St., New York, NY 10012
Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1213 Race St., Philadelphia, PA 19107
Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, 56 N. Beacon, Watertown, MA 02172
Women's Strike for Peace, 145 South 13th St., Philadelphia, PA 19107
World Federalists Association, 1011 Arlington Blvd. Suite 5119, Arlington, VA 22209
World Peacemakers, 2852 Ontario Rd. NW, Washington, D.C. 20009
World Without War Council & Publications, 67 E. Madison, Suite 1417, Chicago, IL 60603
World Without War, Disarmament Kit, 175 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10010
Youth for Understanding International Student Exchange, 3501 Newark St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20016, for youth 14-18

Government Agencies

Arms Control & Disarmament Agency, U.S. Department of State, Washington, D.C. 2[illegible]451, information on arms control negotiations and treaties

Congressional Budget Office, Office of Intergovernmental Relations, House Annex 2, 2nd and D Sts. SW, Washington, D.C. 20515, free publications on budget issues

Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA), 16825 So. Seton Avenue, Emmitsburg, MD 21727

U.S. Dept.of Defense, Office of Public Correspondence, Staff Asst. for Public Affairs, Room 2E 777, Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301

U.S. Dept. of Defense, Washington Headquarters Service Directorate of Information, Room 4B, 938 Pentagon, Washington, D.C. 20301

Curriculum and Resource Materials for the Classroom

Activities for Exploring Conflict and Aggression, by Grace Abrams & Fran Schmidt, J. Weston Walch, Portland, ME 04104, $17.95

An Approach to Peace Education, (UNICEF KIT #6), U.S. National Committee for UNICEF, 331 East 38th St., New York, NY 10016

Choices: A Unit on Conflict and Nuclear War, produced by Union of Concerned Scientists, joint project with National Education Association, 1301 16th St. NW, Washington, D.C. 20036. Junior high level

Citizen Responsibility, Conscience, War and the Draft, by Pickus & Garvey, World Without War Publications, 67 E. Madison, Suite 1417, Chicago, IL 60603

Crossroads: Quality of Life in a Nuclear World, by Jobs With Peace Education Task Force, 77 Summer St., Room 1111, Boston, MA 02110. Available as English, social studies or science curriculum, high school level, $5 each

Day of Dialogue: Planning and Curriculum Resource Guide, Educators for Social Responsibility, 639 Massachusetts Ave., Cambridge, MA 02139, K-12, $12.50

Decision-Making in a Nuclear Age: Confronting Nuclear Weapons, by Elizabeth Lewis and Roberta Snow, Facing History and Ourselves Foundation, 25 Kennard Road, Brookline, MA 02146. High school level, $10

Educating for Peace and Justice: A Manual for Teachers, by Institute for Peace & Justice, 2747 Rutger, St. Louis, MO 63104. Jr. and Sr. high levels, $28

Learning Peace, by Grace Adams and Fran Schmidt, Jane Adams Peace Assn., Philadelphia, PA. High School level

Peacekeeping, by Frankel, Carter, Reardon, Institute for World Order, Random House

Peace or War, by Marion Bressler and Leo Bressler, Englewood Cliffs, Prentice Hall, New Jersey. High school level; paperback

A Repertoire of Peacemaking Skills, by Susan Carpenter, Institute For World Order, K-12

The Spectre of Nuclear War, Kathleen Kanet and William Russell, Intercommunity Center Justice and Peace, 20 Washington Square North, New York, NY 10011, $15

War or Peace in the Twentieth Century, produced by Eleanor Roosevelt Institute, Greenhaven Press, 577 Shoreview Park Road, St. Paul, MN 55112

About the Citizens Policy Center/ Youth Policy Projects

Citizens Policy Center is a non-profit organization that works toward the development of responsive and responsible youth-related policy at the local, state and national levels. The Center, established in 1975, works primarily with teen-agers – especially low-income and minority youth – in the areas of employment, education, health care and international relations.

The Center:

- Is involved in policy research in the youth field
- Operates demonstration projects that involve young people in researching problems and developing innovative solutions to major public policy issues
- Develops curriculum in the area of leadership training and youth involvement

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